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The ADVENTURE of the CHURCH

SAMUEL McCREA CAVERT

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THE ADVENTURE OF THE CHURCH

A Study of the Missionary Genius of Christianity

By SAMUEL McCREA CAVERT

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MISSIONARY EDUCATION MOVEMENT
AND
COUNCIL OF WOMEN FOR HOME MISSIONS
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THE Reverend Samuel McCrea Cavert is one of the General Secretaries of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. Many varied contacts with the work of the churches at home and abroad furnish the background against which he has written this interpretation of the missionary enterprise.

Upon his return in 1917 from a year of special study of Christian missions and of religions in India, China, and Japan, Mr. Cavert became associated with the General War-time Commission of the Churches which had just been organized. For a time he served as a chaplain in the army and was later the editor of the five volumes in the series on "The War and the Religious Outlook": *Religion among American Men; The Missionary Outlook in the Light of the War; The Church and Industrial Reconstruction; Christian Unity, Its Principles and Possibilities; The Teaching Work of the Church.* He is also the author of *Securing Christian Leaders for Tomorrow.*

In the summer of 1923 Mr. Cavert went to the Near East as a fraternal visitor to the Eastern churches and thus familiarized himself with another phase of the worldwide Christian movement.

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To

MARY DER. CAVERT

and

WALTER I. CAVERT

from whom I first learned the glory
of the Christian adventure

CONTENTS

PAGE

PREFACE vi

I. AN ADVENTURE IN FELLOWSHIP . . 9

An interpretation of the missionary movement in terms of a developing worldwide fellowship transcending cleavages of nation, race, and class, and based upon fellowship with God as revealed in Jesus Christ.

II. THE BASIS OF THE ADVENTURE . . 47

A study of the inherently missionary character of the Christian religion, as seen in the life and teachings of its Founder and in the background of his religious heritage.

III. THE ENLARGING HORIZONS OF THE ADVENTURE 74

A review of the expansion of Christianity through eighteen centuries, indicating the extent to which the church has been or has failed to be truly missionary at various periods.

IV. THE ADVENTURE IN AMERICA . . 108

A review of what the home missionary movement was, what it did, and what it came to be in the nineteenth century.

V. A WORLD ADVENTURE 147

A review of what the foreign missionary movement was, what it did, and what it came to be in the nineteenth century.

PAGE

VI. An Adventurous Task for Our Generation 192

A study of the major missionary problems confronting the church in the twentieth century.

Reading List 245

Index 251

PREFACE

In the writing of this book I have felt myself constantly indebted to a host of friends through whom I have come to a fuller understanding and appreciation of the missionary movement. Many of these friends are themselves missionaries, at home or abroad. My only regret is that this volume is not a worthier interpretation of their work.

To the following I am under a special sense of deep obligation:

To members and officers of the Missionary Education Movement and of the Council of Women for Home Missions, for invaluable counsel and numberless helpful suggestions.

To Professor Daniel J. Fleming, whose personal friendship and whose writings have alike been a great stimulus, and to Professor Julius A. Bewer, who has kindly read and criticized Chapter II in its tentative form.

To Miss Aenid A. Sanborn, without whose efficient assistance I could not have gained sufficient time from the pressure of other duties to write this book at all.

To Mrs. J. C. R. Ewing, formerly of Lahore, and Mr. and Mrs. Horace E. Coleman, of Tokyo, in whose homes I gained my richest appreciation of the spirit of the missionary.

Most of all, to Miss Twila Lytton, Dean of Women at Lawrence College, Appleton, Wisconsin, and formerly a member of the faculty of the Women's Union Christian College in Japan, who discussed the subject matter with me chapter by chapter while it was in preparation, whose fresh ideas and discerning insight have inspired my thinking, and whose comradeship has been a constant benediction.

S. M. C.

March
1927

THE ADVENTURE OF THE CHURCH

CHAPTER I

AN ADVENTURE IN FELLOWSHIP

Of all the remarks popularly current today none is a more mischievous half-truth than "What a man believes doesn't matter." All that counts, we hear it said, is what one does. But what a man does, in the long run, is the outcome of the convictions that have come to master his living. "A man's action," as Emerson put it, "is only the picture-book of his creed."

Obviously, there are petty subjects toward which our attitude is of negligible significance. About certain things, however, what we deeply believe determines our whole life. Every discovery of a new world is due to what some Columbus believes. Every forward step in civilization has its roots in a new belief at which some James Watt has arrived. Every advance in human welfare springs from what some Pasteur is convinced is true.

Such illustrations help us to see why faith in God is of transcendent moment. Let a man become assured that there is in the universe a great purpose of good, to the achievement of which he can contribute, and a new motive inspires his efforts. His

actions become "the picture-book of his creed." He shares, in some measure at least, in the spirit of a Wilfred Grenfell bringing new hope to the fisher-folk of Labrador, or of a Booker Washington helping a race up from slavery.

Let a man become convinced, on the other hand, that the universe is nothing but a soulless mechanism, that there is not a shred of spiritual meaning inwrought into human destiny, and his best incentive to moral struggle and unselfish service is dried up at the source. In some form or other a haunting sense of the futility of human striving and sacrificing casts its shadow over his path.

DO WE REALLY BELIEVE OUR GOSPEL?

For most of us there is little likelihood of so devastating a lack of faith as this. Our besetting danger is not disbelief but half-belief. Doubtless we are not without religious convictions, but are they clear and strong enough to make a vital difference in our living? We believe in a God; but do we profoundly believe in the kind of God that Christ revealed?

What sort of creed does the picture-book of our actions show? Do we give ourselves in generous service to our fellows? Do we take all classes and conditions of men into the range of our sympathy and fellowship? If not, we silently confess that we have no gripping belief in God as Jesus Christ has made him known.

For God, as we see him in Christ, is all-embracing

love. The one word without which we cannot describe him at all—the one word in which the New Testament defines his very being—is love.[1] It is the love of a universal Father for all his children—"God so loved the world."[2] It is a love that knows no limits of class or color or nation. It is love to the uttermost, shrinking not even from the cross.

How much do we actually believe in God as sacrificial, world-encircling love for all men? How far do our attitudes toward other people show us to have transforming fellowship with such a God? Do we share in his yearning to help human lives, feeling intensely their suffering, their sin, their handicaps, their oppression? Or are we callous and indifferent toward countless men and women whom Christ found worth dying for?

Do we treat men of other levels of culture or of other races—the immigrants on the other side of the railroad track, the Mexicans or the Turks—as Jesus treated similar folk? Or are we more like the African who, when called upon to help a drowning man, stood unmoved on the bank and said, "He is not of my village"?

Such inescapable questions lead us to the central thesis of this book: *One cannot fully believe in God, as Christ makes him known, without believing in what the missionary movement, both at home and abroad, is struggling to achieve.* For the missionary enterprise is an embodiment of the self-giving and sharing spirit of Christ. It is the spontaneous ex-

[1] *I John* 4:8, 16. [2] *John* 3:16.

pression of faith in God as forth-streaming love for all men. The one overtowering reason for the missionary undertaking is that we have a missionary God. To be lacking in the missionary spirit is to confess that we do not have a living belief in, and fellowship with, a Christlike God.

THE GOSPEL OF FELLOWSHIP

So inextricably related are fellowship with God and fellowship with men that they are found, upon analysis, to be but two aspects of one indivisible experience.

For, in the first place, the fullest fellowship between man and man, the Christian finds, is not experienced apart from fellowship with God. Any abiding sense of human brotherhood has to rest upon the conviction that there is in the universe an on-going purpose of love which makes it worth while to strive to make love supreme. The foundation has to be laid also in that profound respect for human personality which arises from conceiving man as having a divine origin and divine possibilities. Beneath the fact of brotherhood lies the deeper fact of Fatherhood.

For a brotherly society there has to be also the indispensable basis of Christlike motives in the individual. There is no magic for getting a Christian social order without Christian personalities. In every movement for a better world the bottom need is for better men. And personal faith in the loving

God is the fountain-head of inspiration for the life of love. The danger is that we shall assume that the business of building a fraternal world can be achieved without the moral and spiritual resources that flow from personal fellowship with God. Those who are most concerned that the ethics of Jesus should be followed need most of all to stress the unique thing that gave dynamic to the ethics of Jesus in his own experience—his inner communion with God.

But, in the second place, the fullest fellowship between man and God, in the Christian view, cannot be experienced apart from fellowship with men. If God is love, outreaching love for all men, then any valid experience of oneness with him must inevitably be also an experience of active, serving love for others. An early interpreter of Jesus put this in unforgettable language: "If a man say, I love God, and hateth his brother, he is a liar." [3] It is impossible to attach any less meaning to these words than the plain truth that no experience is entitled to be called fellowship with the Father unless it is associated with love for all the Father's children.

What a flood of new light is thus shed on certain doctrines which some in our generation may have thought were losing their force. Sin and salvation, for example. If anyone assumes that the idea of sin holds less of reality than formerly, he must be strangely forgetful of the ideal of fellowship. Let

[3] *I John* 4:20.

him once recognize that the will of God is to bring all men into fellowship with himself and thus with one another, and he will become poignantly aware of the blighting fact of human sin. For whatever stands in the way of such fellowship, or disrupts or weakens it, is sin—black and ugly and ruinous of human happiness. Indeed, how many things now appear in the catalogue of awful sins that we had not recognized before as belonging there! All our participation in economic arrangements which rob any of God's children, our brothers, of their opportunity for the most abundant life, is sin. All discrimination against men of another color, God's children and our brothers, is sin. All acquiescence in war, dooming to destruction those who are equally with us children of the one Father, is sin. When a man comes to see that he is related to God not as an isolated individual but as a member of the society which is God's family, he cries out with new conviction, "God be merciful to me, a sinner!"

The word salvation receives likewise a greatly enlarged content. To be saved is now seen to mean to be redeemed from a self-centered life and brought into transforming fellowship with God in Christ, and through him into the fullest fellowship with one's brother-men. In the words of deep insight written by a great disciple of Jesus, "We know that we have passed from death unto life, because we love the brethren." [4]

[4] *I John* 3:14.

THE CHALLENGE TO FELLOWSHIP

To attempt to develop the spirit and practice of fellowship throughout the human family is a courageous venture of faith. In great areas of our living, selfishness and strife divide men into competing groups and put terrific obstacles in the way of mutual understanding and good will. In spite of all the dreams of brotherhood, it is a sadly sundered world in which we live. Capital and labor line up in hostile camps. Nations are arrayed in bristling distrust, building submarines and bombing-planes with which to protect themselves one from another. Races are separated by yawning chasms of prejudice, the white man assuming himself to be inherently superior to the black and the yellow, and imposing himself upon them in ways which they bitterly resent. Certainly the world as we see it is not conspicuously the scene of all-embracing love.

Indeed, all these divisive conditions have been painfully sharpened in our modern civilization. For a hundred and fifty years group-consciousness has been intensifying in the general life of mankind.

Ever since the industrial revolution, when the discovery of the power of steam ushered in the age of machine production and the modern factory system, class consciousness has been an outstanding fact. Industry ceased long ago to be a simple matter of a master-workman in personal relation with a few apprentices and associates, forming all together

almost a family unit. In modern industry great masses of workers are grouped together in self-interest on one side, while on the other is a vast aggregation of capital similarly grouped. Under such conditions the ethical sense of common interests and human fellowship has been terrifically weakened. National consciousness also has been growing apace. Beginning with the French Revolution and the independence of the American Colonies, new and ambitious states have developed, with group loyalty binding together the men within each state, but with corresponding separateness and antagonism of the states toward one another. Side by side with these economic and political developments has been growing race consciousness, due largely to the aggressiveness of the white man within the former domain of what Kipling unhappily called "the lesser breeds."

This intense group consciousness, manifesting itself in these three deep-seated ways, makes the task of creating human fellowship across the dividing lines incomparably the most difficult, as well as the most urgent, task of our generation. It is a task that calls for spiritual courage of a high order. It demands faith strong enough to carry us, Columbus-like, over uncharted seas and in the face of threatening storms, undismayed, toward a clear-visioned goal.

That is why we call this book "The *Adventure* of the Church."

Whoever has come to know Christ in his own experience understands that there can be no question as to the final outcome of the adventure. For in Christ he has seen the principle of love triumphant, even when apparently defeated and crushed on Calvary; so triumphant as to convince him that it is the ultimate power in the universe. In Christ he has seen also a fellowship with God so energizing and empowering that it was able to express itself in an unconquerable spirit of fellowship with all humanity.

One who has become a disciple of Jesus has found also that this ideal of fellowship justifies itself in his own experience. He recognizes as his best hours those when his life was something more than a self-seeking affair. He learns that the times of most genuine satisfaction are the times when he has most fully identified himself with his brothermen. He discovers that the more he comes to regard all human beings as his kin, the richer is his life. Some there are who have entered so deeply into this self-identification with others that they would even join in the Christlike words of the dead humanitarian and labor leader who said, "While there is a lower class, I am in it; while there is a criminal element, I am of it; while there is a soul in prison, I am not free." Men have found that they have their most solid joy when their sympathies are kept most wide. They know that the only happy life is the shared life. So Livingstone could write,

"People talk of the sacrifice I have made in spending so much of my life in Africa. . . . It is emphatically no sacrifice. Say rather it is a privilege."

To this sense of our spiritual oneness with the whole family of men many factors minister, but it is our contact with Christ that is the supreme influence. He has so revealed the meaning and the power of love as to be the great unifier of history. "Sometimes a catastrophe brings about this consciousness of simple humanity. When the earth's crust shakes, and terror drives people from their homes, the members of the heterogeneous company huddled in a place of refuge are more conscious of their common human frailty before this mighty force than they are of old distinctions that loomed so large in days of safety when they forgot their God. But what the earthquake can do for a night, Christ can make an abiding attitude." [5] In Paul's memorable words, describing his own experience of fellowship with Christ and the resulting fellowship with the Gentiles, from whom he had been formerly estranged by national and cultural differences, "He has made both of us a unity and destroyed the barriers which kept us apart." [6]

THE CHURCH AS A FELLOWSHIP

Of this all-embracing society derived from the influence of Jesus, the church is the great symbol.

[5] D. J. Fleming, *Marks of a World Christian,* p. 4.
[6] *Ephesians* 2:14 (Moffat's translation).

It is the body of all those who seek to carry on his purpose of love in the world. It is the instrument through which the divine will-to-fellowship is to be achieved. In the thought of the Apostle Paul this becomes most clear. For him the church is a world-wide fellowship binding together in a common life, because of their common experience of Christ, those who otherwise would be set over against each other. In the light of this underlying unity, superficial differences of race and nation become unimportant; whether Jew or Gentile matters not. Differences of social culture are to be no longer divisive; there is neither Greek nor barbarian. Economic divisions count for nothing; there is neither bond nor free. No discriminations are to be based on sex; male and female are on equal footing. All are to be knit together, with their varying gifts and functions, in one body animated by the spirit of Christ.[7]

That is why we call this book, built around the ideal of fellowship, "The Adventure of the *Church*." [8]

Does the church, as we see it today, appear a very different thing from such a fellowship? No doubt it often does. The average church hardly seems to be

[7] This thought and its consequences are developed by Right Reverend William Temple in an address printed in *The World Task of the Christian Church.*

[8] Of course we are not limiting the meaning of "church" to any single institution or ecclesiastical organization. We are thinking rather of the whole company of men and women who have found in Christ the true meaning of life and are trying to follow in his way.

making any great adventure in brotherhood. One almost feels that he can find as much genuine fellowship in a labor union or a Rotary club. But if that is so, it shows only that such a church has departed from the spirit of its Lord and his great Apostle. In a most illuminating essay on "What Happened at Pentecost," Professor Anderson Scott points out that the distinctive thing about the event in which the church had its birth was the emergence of a new spirit of fellowship among men, first with Christ and then with one another.[9] So the early Christians "had all things in common," not as exponents of any economic theory, but in the natural expression of their new attitude.

And the disciples soon came also to comprehend that this brotherly society into which they had entered must be universal in character. In spite of the excessively nationalistic atmosphere in which the first generation of Christians lived, the spirit of enlarging fellowship became so strong as to overleap the barriers of cultural and racial cleavage. This was chiefly due to the insight of Paul. All "middle walls of partition" he saw broken down by Christ. Indeed, as Dr. Denny has so well shown, "it is in its all-reconciling power that Paul sees most clearly the absoluteness and finality of the Christian religion."

Has our own day any greater need than to recover that note of adventurous fellowship? We

[9] See his chapter in *The Spirit*, edited by B. N. Streeter.

live in an age when science has brought the peoples of the earth into a proximity and an interdependence never known before. To say that the modern world has become one neighborhood is the tritest of expressions. It has been reduced to the dimensions of a single dooryard. A voice in San Francisco is heard in London. One goes from New York to Tokyo in the time it took his grandfather to go from New York to Buffalo. What affects one person now affects all. Unless, in such a day, we can find a moral and spiritual unity corresponding to the new physical unity, our intimate intercourse may spell only more irritating friction, more deadly strife. That this result is likely many thinkers do not hesitate to prophesy. Bertrand Russell tells us that the increased powers which have been put into man's hands by modern science and which can be used for destructive as well as for constructive ends, threaten our entire civilization.[10] Of all the dramatic issues before our generation none is so fraught with destiny as this: In a world now geographically unified, can divergent groups learn to live together in sympathy and mutual helpfulness?

WORLD FELLOWSHIP THE GOAL OF MISSIONS

However far short the church may sometimes fall of measuring up to the requirements of fellowship, at least the missionary movement, at home or abroad, is a convincing expression of it. The very

[10] See his *Icarus*.

existence of the missionary enterprise is a living witness to the Christian quest for fellowship as wide as the love of God, and therefore inclusive of all humanity. Its passion to save and to uplift goes out to man as man, and to man as child of God—not to men as Americans or Chinese, as white or black, as rich or poor. Throughout its history it has been rising above divisions of nation, race and class. More than any other agency in the world it has been asserting that

> In Christ there is no East or West,
> In him no South or North;
> But one great fellowship of love
> Throughout the whole wide earth.[11]

The missionary movement, thus conceived, is not something apart, something which either may or may not go along with Christianity. It is warp and woof of the gospel itself. It is not an optional enterprise, which Christians may or may not undertake; it is the normal and direct expression of belief in the purpose of God as revealed in Christ. Not to share in the missionary spirit is unconsciously to make a self-indictment of one's religious experience. To say, "I do not believe in missions" is to say, "I do not deeply believe in God as the universal Father."

At various periods, no doubt, the missionary objective has been conceived in measure too small to

[11] John Oxenham.

fathom its full significance. At times the insistency of its appeal has been set forth chiefly in terms of millions passing to a hopeless doom in another world. Again its aim has been to draw little groups of converts apart from the world and to minister to their individual needs in greater or less isolation. But always the missionary enterprise has been expanding the horizons of the church, until today the end is seen to be nothing less than the transforming of the world and all phases of its life into a Christ-like society in which God's purpose of love shall be everywhere fulfilled.

How the missionary impulse carries us forward toward a goal that can be conceived in no smaller terms than the building of a Christian social order, is suggested by a famous illustration from Bishop James M. Thoburn, one of the greatest of the missionaries of a generation ago. Bishop Thoburn said that anyone who goes out to India, even if committed exclusively to an evangelistic program, will, on his very first journey, meet wretched and suffering children. The spirit of Christ will not let him pass them by; he founds an orphanage, and presently India finds that she has a new conception of duty to childhood. He goes a little further and finds men ill and dying. An irrepressible impulsion of love makes him care for them; a hospital comes into being, and with it a new ideal of social welfare. So, in a score of ways, love utters itself in service

that cannot be satisfied with less than the redemption of society.

The missionary movement in its final meaning sets before us the task of actualizing on the earth Jesus' vision of the Kingdom of God, in which all peoples, conscious of their relationship to one Father and one Lord, shall live together in the brotherly spirit of Jesus. The thing for which the endeavor stands is the very thing mankind must lay hold on if we are to have the united and righteous world which men vaguely desire and have not found.

Thus conceived, the project of Christian missions is profoundly more significant than many of the members of our churches have realized. It is a far greater undertaking than occupation of the geographical areas of the globe with preachers of the gospel. Though all the blank spaces on the maps of America and of the world were to be filled tomorrow with mission stations or churches, our task would still be only fairly begun. Other regions than territorial have to be claimed for Christ. Every province of our thinking, every area of our social attitude and conduct, every region of the relation of individuals, classes, races and nations to each other, must be brought under the influence of Christ.

If Christ is to be Lord of all, he must be Lord of our political, our economic, our industrial, our business, our international relationships. Until he is Lord in these realms as well as in the home and the church, he is not yet really Lord at all. For

the law of Christ is no less binding upon men when functioning as groups than in more intimate individual contacts. At the recent dedication of Liverpool Cathedral the Bishop wrote on the ground with his staff the letters Alpha and Omega and between them marked a cross. It was a symbol of the rightful Lordship of Christ over the total life of mankind.

HOME AND FOREIGN MISSIONS INSEPARABLE

The old idea that home missions and foreign missions are rivals thus falls away. Not long ago home missions meant "out West." It was the story of planting churches in frontier settlements in New Mexico, Idaho or Alaska. Today the scene is "back East" as well. For the enlarged view, geographical definitions will no longer suffice. Home missions now means bringing Christian influences to bear on the great immigrant populations in our industrial centers, helping racial groups to larger cooperation, building up a more abundant life in rural areas, developing a Christian community life in every town and city. The conscious goal is not simply the provision of religious worship for scattered populations, but a Christian social order in America.

Not long ago foreign missions meant the Far East or the isles of distant seas. It was the story of the proclamation of the gospel to those on whose ears it had never fallen. Today, while foreign missions is still "out there," it is also inextricably entwined

with the building of a Christian society in the West as well. The conscious goal is no longer simply the conversion of individuals in other lands, but a Christian world order.

So we can no longer divide the map into Christian and non-Christian lands. There is as yet no such thing as a Christian nation. There are only nations in which many earnest people are trying—some with less success, others with more—to bring all of life under Christ's control. In all lands the nature of the objective is the same. Home missions and foreign missions have the same ideals, derive dynamic from the same motivation. They are inseparable parts of one effort to permeate human society with the spirit of Christ.

Of course we have not wholly outgrown, perhaps never can wholly outgrow, all geographical compulsions. As long as there are any parts of the world, whether in a great American city or the remotest corner of Arabia, where men are not being confronted with the claim of Jesus Christ upon their lives, so long must his church put forth particular effort in those parts to make him known and loved. How can the church fulfil its function of binding together all peoples in a fellowship founded on the ideal of Christ, unless they first know him and believe his gospel?

Common problems, however, confront home and foreign missions which neither can hope to solve apart from the other, and which bind them together

as a single enterprise. Concerning three of these problems, all having to do with the task of developing fellowship among separated groups in the modern world, we shall be speaking in every chapter of this book. We set them forth in this introductory statement, not to discuss them at length but to illustrate how efforts to make America Christian and efforts to make the world Christian act and react on each other.

THE HOME-AND-FOREIGN PROBLEM OF RACE

Consider the problem of race. The issues involved lie at the heart of everything that the missionary movement, whether at home or abroad, is trying to achieve. The ultimate question is an incisive test of Christianity itself: can the Christian religion supply the moral power to enable men to rise above deep-rooted racial prejudices? Can it create a spirit of fellowship great enough to assure to every race its full opportunity to develop its latent gifts and to make its own distinctive contribution to the world?

What a missionary problem for America! Within our own boundaries almost every race problem of the earth confronts us in acute degree. Almost one out of ten of our people is a Negro. Against age-long handicaps, his race is struggling for a better status. Formerly a serious question for the South alone, the extensive migration of Negroes to Northern cities within recent years has made the

relations of white and black citizens an issue that reaches from Florida to Maine. A poignant consciousness of the disabilities under which he lives is throbbing in the Negro's breast. He is still far from having anything like equal opportunities for education, and is thus handicapped at the start. Many of the skilled trades and professions are practically closed to him. In large areas of the country he is unable to secure accommodations on Pullman trains or in hotels. He is made to feel that he is regarded as a lower species of humanity. By subtle methods he is discriminated against, even intimidated, in the exercise of his citizen's right to vote. Most terrible of all is the peril to life itself under conditions which still permit hideous lynchings. As these lines were being written, the newspapers recorded the lawless murder of three Negroes taken from jail, one of whom had actually been acquitted in trial by jury.

The home missionary movement, to its glory, took the lead in building schools and colleges for the Negro long before the general public had awakened to its duty. Missionary influences are also largely responsible for the new movement for cooperation between our white and our black citizens that now affords bright promise of a better day.

Of almost equal urgency are our relationships with Orientals, originally brought to our shores, like the Negroes, for the purpose of securing cheap labor in American industry. Though few in numbers,

hardly more than one out of a thousand of the total population, our attitude toward these representatives of a different civilization is a touchstone of our ability to deal with a complex race situation in a spirit of Christian justice and friendship. Since 1906 our government has not regarded Orientals as eligible to citizenship. In some parts of the country there is unremitting hostility to their presence, expressed in legal and social discriminations of many kinds.

More than half a million Mexicans are also among us, chiefly in the Southwest. Approximately a third of a million Indians, the only truly "100% Americans," constitute the surviving remnant of a race that has been shamelessly treated from our forefathers' time. Immigrant populations, which a few years ago came from Europe in such numbers that today one out of eight of our people is foreign-born, make America still more a racial laboratory. In the relation of Christians and Jews differences of religion, tenaciously held, accentuate other differences created by divergent historic backgrounds.

But this problem of race in America is only part of a larger world problem of color. The modern domination, political and economic, of the colored peoples by the white has created an undercurrent of feeling which is shaking the planet. Everywhere the hand of the white man has been reaching out insatiably in quest of the raw materials and markets demanded by an industrial civilization. Side by

side with his trade have gone military conquest and political domination. Although comprising only a little over one third of the world's population, the white race has so extended its political control that today more than nine tenths of the habitable area of the globe is under its sway.

Little wonder that races long quiet are astir and asserting the right to determine their own destiny. Every day's news is electric with the changing spirit. India and the Philippines are demanding self-government. Japan is insisting on being recognized on a plane of equality with the West. China is struggling to preserve itself against foreign interference and inner disintegration. Turkey is claiming the right to be master in its own house. Africans are awakening to a sense of their rights in a continent that has been almost wholly partitioned among the Western powers. Mexico manifests her feeling that her northern neighbor's pursuit of oil is menacing her independence. Other Latin-American republics view with suspicion what they regard as imperialistic encroachments from the United States. All over the world it appears that racial upheavals are likely to burst at any time.

With all this the future of foreign missions is bound up closely. Unless the Christian church, committed by its gospel to a belief in the essential unity of mankind, proclaiming the life of fellowship and brotherhood to be the very purpose of God, can release influences which will dissipate the storms

of conflict and bring about mutual understanding, the message of the missionaries of the white race to the other races of the world will lack reality and power. Our words will stick in our throats or fall like feathers when they need the force of mighty building-stones.

Dr. Charles W. Gilkey tells us that when he arrived in India in 1924 to deliver the famous Barrows lectures, a friend asked him what he expected to say about the race problem and America's attitude toward it. "Why, I am not planning to discuss it," said Dr. Gilkey. "I have come to speak on 'The Personality of Jesus.'" "Well," was the wise advice, "you had better have something to say on the subject of race within the first ten minutes, or your audience will not listen to anything else that you say."

THE HOME-AND-FOREIGN PROBLEM OF WORLD PEACE

Consider likewise the problem of developing a Christian international life, of securing relations of peace and justice between nations, free from the haunting specter of war. It requires us in America to develop a Christian conception of patriotism to take the place of the boastful and selfish thing which has often masqueraded under a patriotic mantle. Loyalty to the land that has given us birth and showered us with blessings should flow in the blood. Patriotism, rightly conceived, is a stimulus to serve something larger than one's own individual

ends. It gives rise to the feeling that Robert Burns describes as

> A wish that to my latest hour
> Will strongly heave my breast,
> That I for puir old Scotland's sake
> Some useful plan or book might make,
> Or sing a sang at least.

And yet there is a higher loyalty than to the nation which the church has to inculcate. It is loyalty to Christ, and to the whole human family for which Christ died. The church can accept the slogan "America first" only by making it mean first in standing for righteousness, first in appreciating other peoples, first in working for peace, first in service to the world. Surely we cannot go on thinking that it is enough for us as individual Christians to be respectful of others, humble and unselfish, at the same time that as a nation we are contemptuous of others, boastful and self-seeking. Nor can any Christian view of patriotism allow us to repeat, in any form, that familiar slogan which an American newspaper has chosen to carry on its editorial page: "My country; in her intercourse with foreign nations, may she ever be right, but right or wrong, my country."

How to cultivate a sympathy for other nations, how to foster Christian world-mindedness, how to create an American public opinion that will blaze the way to the abolition of war, are issues to which no

American church can close its mind. In the enlarged view of home missions, these questions are a preeminent part of the task at home.

But international issues, from their very nature, pass beyond the responsibility of the Christian forces of any single nation. They are a world problem, thoroughly interwoven with the spirit and program of worldwide missions. Indeed, the foreign missionary movement is our greatest incarnation of the ideal of international brotherhood for which the age is groping. For more than a hundred years it has been laying spiritual foundations for a true internationalism. It has actually gone ahead upon the assumption that all men belong to one family. It is the basis for the best there is in the confidence which the nations of the East and the West have toward each other as morally dependable units. The interests of trade have not shrunk from exploiting other peoples for profit, even to the extent of forcing opium, liquor, the slave traffic and servile labor upon them. The interests of imperialistic diplomacy have built up spheres of influence among other peoples or have seized their territory. So humiliating is the record that we need not be surprised if the nations of Asia and Africa assume that there has been slight concern for justice or honor in so-called Christian lands.

Against all this the missionary movement has been the clearest protest in the Western world. It has revealed by flesh and blood that there is a spirit which cares for men in every part of the globe for

their own human sake. It has developed a world-wide company committed to the idea of a fellowship transcending every dividing line.

The missionary himself at his best has always been a mediating personality, coming from one land and identifying himself with the people of another. He has been an interpreter of the better side of East and West to each other. As a former Japanese ambassador to the United States said, "The Christian missionaries to Japan contributed to the building of an unseen bridge between East and West." The remark is equally true of other countries. "It is an unmeasurable asset for any international organization that in every land of the earth today there exists a body of men, larger or smaller, to whom it is natural to think of others in terms of brotherhood and friendship, whose habit of mind is to think of the merits instead of the demerits of other nations, who would rather believe well than ill of men around the globe, who understand the spiritual language spoken by men of other tongues. Such groups have actually been built up by foreign missions all over the world. As a result thousands of men in all lands are already in league with one another at the deeper levels of life." [12]

Unless peoples can be thus "leagued with one another at the deeper levels of life," it is hopeless to expect any league of nations to achieve the goal

[12] Cleland B. McAfee, *The Missionary Outlook in the Light of the War,* chapter II.

which far-visioned leaders have set for it. An international organization effective enough to assure world peace depends on the existence of some great common bond sufficiently strong to unite men despite political boundaries still lined with forts and arsenals. Can international trade be such a common interest? As now carried on, its selfishness makes it more likely to sow the seeds of war than to prevent it. Can intellectual and cultural influences accomplish the desired harmony? They can help. But in the last analysis only a common religious faith, lofty and dynamic, with a universal outlook and a passion for humanity, will have the power to bring and to hold the world together.

This common faith the foreign missionary movement seeks to supply. Holding before the world the ideal of the Kingdom of God, embracing all nations in one fellowship with Christ and with one another, it is constantly calling them to cooperation and mutual service. Of this religious faith any successful international organization will be only the political counterpart. Of such a faith the competitive armaments of nominally Christian nations are a bitter mockery. Astride the path of progress of foreign missions, like an evil giant, stands the threat of recurring war. To put the hideous monster to flight would be the most compelling demonstration of the reality of the message that the Christian missionary proclaims.

THE HOME-AND-FOREIGN PROBLEM OF INDUSTRY

As a third illustration of the way in which the fortunes of the home and foreign missionary enterprises are bound together, take the challenge to the Christian gospel presented by our industrial and economic life. That the Protestant churches in most countries have but slight hold on the ranks of organized labor is a sad but undeniable fact. In Russia the established church was so identified with the forces of special privilege and with intolerable social conditions that when a revolution came it was avowedly antagonistic to the church. In our own country within the memory of the present generation the church has been awakening to a new sense of responsibility for developing a Christian spirit and Christian standards in industry. If home missions regards its objective as making all our national life truly Christian, then it is a downright impossibility for it to ignore the group of questions inhering in the relations of men as producers, distributors and consumers of material goods. Unless we can find fellowship in the process of earning our daily bread, which for the vast majority of men occupies most of their waking hours, we are not likely to have any deep sense of fellowship at all.

The moral problems of industry arise chiefly out of the impersonal character of modern large-scale production. The employer is simply a combination of distant investors of capital whose one direct in-

terest is in profits. The worker comes to be regarded as hardly more than an item in the cost of production, a commodity to be bought at the lowest figure possible, like coal or cotton. The extreme example is the child worker. More than a million children in our country between the ages of ten and fifteen are doomed to daily toil, providing cheap labor in preparation of the things we eat or wear or use.[13] In periods of depression unemployment stalks through the land like a pestilence; the number of those unable to provide decently for their families in such a crisis may reach three million in the United States alone.[14] The strike on the Interborough Rapid Transit in New York in 1926 disclosed that most of the men who operate our subways work seven days a week throughout the year. All these and other aspects of our industrial life are generally treated in terms of problems for which the moral and religious forces have no responsibility, not in terms of their blighting effect upon the lives of men, women and children who are fellow-members with us of the family of God.

Worst of all, the industrial realm is a scene of persistent discord and strife. When all due allowance has been made for the many firms in which good will and democratic relationships prevail, the

[13] According to the Federal Census of 1920. The figures do not include child laborers younger than ten, of whom there are many thousands.

[14] Report of the Federal Commission on Industrial Relations, p. 163. Washington, D. C. 1915.

fact remains that capital and labor tend to regard themselves as pitted against each other in a struggle in which each side must grab for itself as much as it can.

The root trouble is not that men fail to apply Christian principles to economic and industrial problems, but that they do not really believe that these principles can be applied. They take it for granted that the economic sphere should be a battleground on which every man is to fight for whatever he is strong enough or clever enough to get. They assume that business and industry must be conducted in the interests of private profit. They measure success in these terms. They simply do not believe that love will work in the industrial realm or that true fellowship is possible there.

Such a doctrine, if acquiesced in, strikes at the very heart of Christianity, for if we cannot win this section of human activity for Christ, how can we claim for him universal lordship? [15]

"We cannot, therefore, agree with the view sometimes expressed which would allow Christians to take for granted the general economic arrangements of society and would confine their attention to supplementing incidental shortcomings and relieving individual distress, in the belief that if men will live conscientiously within the limits of established industrial arrangements, without seeking to modify

[15] This point of view is developed more fully in chapters II and III of *The Church and Industrial Reconstruction.*

them, the result will be such a society as can be approved by Christians. The solution of the industrial problem involves, in short, not merely the improvement of individuals, but a fundamental change in the spirit of the industrial system itself." [16]

Almost over night modern industrialism has challenged the foreign missionary movement as sharply as it had hitherto faced the church at home. The immemorial system of handicraft is fast giving way in the Orient before the invasion of Western machinery and the factory system. In China and India huge steel mills, cotton factories, silk factories and other plants are fresh features of the landscape, as they have been for a longer time in Japan. Between 1900 and 1925 the number of cotton spindles in China rose from half a million to nearly three and a half million.[17] In India likewise the attempt of Gandhi to force back the tide of industrialism, and to perpetuate homespun and handicraft, is like Canute's effort to hold back the waves of the sea.

In these lands, alas, there are as yet no adequate standards for curbing the rapacity of capitalistic developments. The worst features of the factory system are being reproduced there in aggravated form, with few or none of the ameliorating influences. In the mills of Shanghai little children as young as six or seven, or at whatever age an em-

[16] Report of the Archbishop's Fifth Committee of Inquiry on Christianity and Industrial Problems, p. 52. London, 1918.

[17] See the *Monthy Labor Review* of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, November, 1926.

ployer is ready to take them, work twelve hours a day, with a night shift taking their place as they depart.[18] A weekly day of rest is almost unheard of, even for children. In Japan, according to governmental statistics, more than a third of the girls recruited by scores of thousands from the country districts for employment in the factories have to return home within a year because of tuberculosis or other serious diseases. Although Japan is more advanced industrially than the other nations of the Orient, its legal limit of working time for women and children is still eleven hours a day, with no weekly limit, and with the usual difficulties of enforcing any safeguards at all. Much longer hours are allowed by law in the silk industry in the busiest periods.

Let a recent observer tell concretely of a few factories that he saw in China:

"We first visited a match factory, said to be the best of its kind in the city. We found eleven hundred employees, mostly boys from nine to fifteen years of age, working from 4 A.M. to 8:30 P.M., with a short intermission for meals. The boys receive from six to twelve cents, and the men about twenty-five cents a day. The poisonous fumes of the phosphorus and the dust from the other chemicals burned our lungs within half an hour.

"We next visited a Chinese rug factory making

[18] The figures in this paragraph as to child labor and hours of work are quoted from the *Monthly Labor Review,* November, 1926.

the most beautiful rugs for use in the homes of millionaires in America and Europe. Twelve hundred boys and young men . . . are here employed. The foremen receive $8.00 while other men average $4.50 a month and their food. Men and boys are working on an average of nearly sixteen hours a day . . . The majority of the boys serve as apprentices for a period of three years and receive no pay whatever during this period but only get their food." [19]

From the results of this extension of Western industry to the Orient, the Christian movement cannot stand apart. They are determining the conditions under which the Christian movement has to be carried on. They are writing a great interrogation point after the gospel of brotherhood. Do we not owe it to the East to help her solve a problem we have done so much to create? Can we do less than cooperate to the utmost of our ability in such work as that of Toyohika Kagawa, a great Christian and probably the foremost figure in the labor movement in Japan, whose religious and social passion has made his efforts in the slums of Kobe and Osaka known around the world?

PARTNERS IN THE GREAT ADVENTURE

To the church both at home and abroad it can never be a matter of indifference if the influence of commerce and industry weight the scales against

[19] Sherwood Eddy, *The New World of Labor*, pp. 16-17.

the Christian gospel. She cannot be unconcerned whether our international conduct is for Christ or against him. She cannot close her eyes to the question whether our racial attitudes and practices help or hinder the Christian cause. So long as these great areas of human activity are uncontrolled by the spirit of Christ, the missionary movement struggles under a back-breaking burden. Here, then, are vast "continents" not yet occupied by Christ which must be entered as courageously as Carey entered India or Livingstone made his way into Africa. They are areas which include the East and the West in a single bundle of life. And in entering these new realms and fighting against deep-rooted forces of selfishness and materialism, the home missionary movement and the foreign missionary movement are one.

Every failure of the Christian gospel at home has deafening reverberations across the sea. How useless to expect a Christian world unless we can have a more Christian America! Almost every missionary in Japan today testifies that the discrimination against Orientals by the American government in its recent immigration act has made the missionary task in Japan incredibly more difficult. "If Christianity has real power in the West," said a patriotic Japanese, "how could the very people that send Christian missionaries to Japan treat the Japanese in such an unchristian fashion?" When I once asked Rabindranath Tagore at his school at Bol-

pur about his impressions of Christian missions in India, he drew from his robe a clipping from an American newspaper describing the burning of two black men at the stake. After passing it to me he inquired, "Do you really think that you have enough Christianity to make it worth while to export it?"

To an American woman who as a social worker was investigating conditions in the Orient, the Chinese owner of a flour mill near Shanghai confessed no little perplexity concerning Christianity. Said he:

"In this factory I work on the modern system, your Western system. I only have to pay, by that system, the men who work for me thirty cents a day. I know they can't live on that and that they can't support their families; but your Western system is considered Christian and calls me an honest business man. It is because I have not yet come to an understanding of such questions as these that I do not understand, as I would like, the Christian religion." [20]

In a world as knit together in all its parts as ours is today, every stream of life from America affects the missionary task all over the globe. We may wish it were otherwise, but the sobering fact is that, for good or ill, our whole national life is profoundly influencing the progress of Christianity in the most distant quarters of the earth. The policies

[20] Quoted by Ernestine Friedman in an address on "Industrial Problems among Women in China and Japan." Report of the 28th Annual Session of the Foreign Missions Conference of North America, p. 176.

of our government, our commercial and industrial practices, our political standards, our attitudes toward other races, are all parts of that total impact which is our actual message to the rest of the world. Every word or deed which helps to make of the United States a Christian nation furthers foreign missions in every corner of our planet.

Every triumph of the Christian movement abroad reinforces likewise the energies of the church for dealing with the tasks at home. As will be made clear in subsequent chapters, the expansion of the church to new frontiers has always meant fresh sources of power. The timeworn argument (which earnest advocates of home missions never think of using) that we need all our resources for a great work at home becomes an argument not against foreign missions but in their favor. For a church that in these days does not have enough spiritual vision to take in the world, will never have enough insight and power to cope with the tasks at its own door. There can be no Christian America till it has a truer world view than it now possesses. The greatest danger to the church has always been the danger of narrow vision and self-centered outlook. Nothing so overcomes this spiritual stagnancy, as many a church bears witness, as to step out boldly upon a worldwide program of service which would claim the life of all mankind for Christ.

THE CENTRAL QUESTION

So the central question for the Christian movement, in our own land or in any other, is whether the way of life revealed in Christ is to win the loyalty of men. As a young Chinese leader puts it:

"Today the battle-line [of missions] is no longer thousands of miles away from the home base. It follows the Main Streets of the cities of the world, it goes through the homes and farms of all climes, and finds Christian and heathen nations on both sides of the line. It is a struggle between love, neighborliness, human brotherhood and the forces of peace on one side, and enmity, greed, injustice and the forces of discord on the other. . . . The missionary is one who is found fighting on God's side for the triumph of truth against ignorance, purity against beastliness, service against selfishness, integrity of personality against the brutality of machinery, whether he be in Europe or Asia. This constitutes the missionary call of this generation." [21]

It is from this background that this book will approach the study of the missionary enterprise.

We shall first inquire (chapter II) what basis we find in the life and teaching of Jesus Christ for the ideal of building a society in which fellowship with the universal Father, and the resulting fellowship with all his children, shall be the central principle.

We shall then (chapter III) make a rapid review

[21] Y. Y. Tsu, quoted in the *Chinese Recorder*, February, 1927.

of the course of Christian history to discover to what extent, at different periods, the church that took its rise from Jesus has made earnest with his way of life.

Next we shall study the development of the missionary spirit in more recent times, beginning with the new impetus that came just before the dawn of the nineteenth century. For convenience we shall look first at what happened in our own country (chapter IV).

Then (chapter V) we shall survey the expansion of the Christian movement to worldwide horizons. In both cases we shall be concerned with the enlargement not merely of geographical boundaries, but of the church's own conception of its task.

Finally (chapter VI) we shall face the almost revolutionary changes that have been taking place in the world in our own generation, and ask ourselves what they require of those who seek to make the Christian ideal of fellowship a living reality in the fullest meaning of the words.

CHAPTER II

THE BASIS OF THE ADVENTURE

THE intrinsically missionary character of the Christion religion does not rest simply on detached sayings of Jesus which indicate that he embraced all classes, races and nations in his view. It does not even depend on any special command of his which lays on those who follow him an additional obligation beyond the other duties of discipleship. Deeper and inescapable considerations underlie the missionary movement. Even if it could be demonstrated that Jesus never said, "Go ye into all the world," we still could not be truly Christian without being truly missionary.

The reason why Christianity is inevitably missionary is that the very heart of its gospel has a universal import. The good news announced by Jesus is not something that was applicable to the Jews alone; it is not something for you or me as an Anglo-Saxon or American. It is worldwide in its significance, meeting the need of man as man. The Christian message so goes to the heart of human nature that if it is valid anywhere it is valid everywhere. If it is vital to anybody, it is vital to everybody. The cardinal elements in the teaching and

the personality of Jesus Christ make him the universal man, and if the Savior of anyone, the Savior of the world. Quite apart from any specific utterances which show that Jesus contemplated a world mission in his name, his whole life and message from first to last necessitated such a movement by any church that was to take him seriously. And the rock-bottom element in the Christian gospel which gives it universal significance—as we have already seen—is nothing less than its conception of the character of God. As revealed by Jesus, God is love, forth-reaching, self-giving love for all men. So really to believe in the Christian God is to share in the missionary motive and ideal.

MISSIONARY OUTLOOK OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

The missionary genius of the Christian religion comes to a clear focus when we look upon it as the consummation of a religious development that characterizes the whole history of Judaism. For Jesus, we must not forget, was a Jew, and stood in the long line of spiritual experience recorded in the Old Testament. Within this background of Judaism one can readily trace the progressive education of a people out of a purely national horizon toward the dawn of a universal outlook.

In the earlier stages of Judaism, it is true, the Jewish nation was conceived as being favored with a peculiar relationship to God, which sometimes meant a sharp antagonism and hostility toward other

peoples. Indeed, all through Jewish history this exclusive attitude crops out again and again as in conflict with the broadening view. Not a few passages leap to mind as illustrative of the narrower vision, such as the following:

> I will give thee the heathen for thine inheritance . . . thou shalt break them with a rod of iron.[1]
>
> I will be an enemy unto thine enemies and an adversary to thine adversaries.[2]

The smallness of the outlook revealed in these and other passages is thrown into stark relief in the early story of Barak and Sisera, preserved in the passionately patriotic and warlike song of Deborah,[3] regarded by scholars as one of the very oldest parts of the Old Testament. The exultant routing of the Canaanites, the treacherous slaying of their leader, their gloating over the grief of his mother—all suffused with an atmosphere of divine blessing—picture a God who is God of Israel only and who has no compassion for another people. Jehovah, in this earlier view, was a national God; other nations had their own gods for their own territory, and over them Jehovah gives the victory.[4]

Against such limited and exclusive conceptions great prophetic voices of Israel rose in protest. When Amos came down from his flocks of Tekoa

[1] *Psalms* 2:8-9. [2] *Exodus* 23:22. [3] *Judges* 5.

[4] See, for example, *Judges* 11:23-24, in which Jepthah assumes Chemosh to be as truly the God of Moab as Jehovah is of Israel; see also *I Kings* 20:23, 28; *II Kings* 17:24-28; *II Kings* 18:33-35.

in the eighth century before Christ, the message he proclaimed envisaged God as showing no favoritism of any sort, but as setting up one standard of righteousness for all nations. Amos found the Jewish people prosperous and observing carefully all the ceremonial requirements of their religion, yet oppressing the poor, complacent at the sight of luxury for the rich and bitter poverty for the masses, untroubled by social injustices and immorality. With dramatic intensity he cried out against all this travesty of religion, declaring sternly in the name of Jehovah: "Though ye offer me your burnt offerings and meal offerings, I will not accept them; neither will I accept the peace offerings of your fat beasts. . . . Let justice roll down as waters and righteousness as a mighty stream." [5] Let them not think that their peculiar relation to Jehovah meant that they could count on his favors; what it meant was that they had had placed upon them a special responsibility. If Israel should not be true to her privileged opportunity, she would fall under the greater condemnation.[6]

For to Amos, Jehovah, being the God of righteousness, was the God of all the peoples of the earth. "For right is right everywhere, and wrong is wrong everywhere. If the God of Israel was the God of justice, then his Kingdom extended as far as justice did; then he was God of the world." [7]

[5] *Amos* 5:22, 24. [6] *Amos* 3:2.
[7] C. H. Cornhill, *The Prophets of Israel,* p. 46.

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So God is concerned for the black folk in the same way that he is concerned for the Jews:

> Are ye not as the children of the Ethiopians unto me, O children of Israel, saith Jehovah.[8]

His hand has guided other peoples as well as Israel:

> Have not I brought up Israel out of the land of Egypt, and the Philistines from Caphtor, and the Syrians from Kir?[9]

And the judgment of God falls upon all nations and races alike. Damascus, Tyre, Moab and other nations are to be punished for their sins, but so also is Israel.[10] "Thus, through Amos, the God of Israel, as the God of justice and righteousness, becomes the God of the entire world and the religion of this God a universal religion." [11]

Many other illustrations could be given to show the growing sense of universalism. The more God's demand for righteous conduct becomes the central emphasis in Judaism, the more do distinctions of special privilege between the nations fall away. A striking passage even portrays two traditional foes as fully included along with Israel in the divine providence: "Blessed be Egypt my people, and Assyria the work of my hands, and Israel mine inheritance." [12] Isaiah foresees the day when "the Lord's house" shall be the center to which "all nations" shall come, when God shall teach them all his ways

[8] *Amos* 9:7. [9] *Amos* 9:7. [10] *Amos* 1:2; 4:12.
[11] *The Prophets of Israel*, p. 46. [12] *Isaiah* 19:24-25.

and they shall all "walk in his paths." He "shall judge among the nations and rebuke many people," with the result that "nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more." [13]

The enlarging view finds expression also in some of the Psalms used in the worship of the temple. Far removed from the spirit of narrow nationalism is such a prayer as this:

God be merciful unto us and bless us, and cause his face to shine upon us,
That thy way may be known upon earth, thy saving health among all nations.
Let the people praise thee, O God; let all the people praise thee.
O let the nations be glad and sing for joy; for thou shalt judge the people righteously and govern the nations upon earth.[14]

In *Isaiah* 40-55, the matchless product of the suffering of the exile, the universal outlook is one of the most characteristic emphases.[15] Israel is still a chosen people, having alone the true knowledge of God; but chosen not for its own glory but as the messenger and servant of the God of the whole world. Through Israel God's good purpose for all peoples is to be achieved: "It is too light a thing

[13] *Isaiah* 2:2-4. [14] *Psalms* 67:1-4.

[15] Although these chapters have come down to us in the same volume as the earlier chapters of Isaiah, scholars are generally agreed that they are from a later pen. It may be helpful to think of the author of chapters 1-39 as the Isaiah of Jerusalem, and the author of chapters 40-55 as the Isaiah of Babylon.

that thou shouldest be my servant to raise up the tribes of Jacob and to restore the preserved of Israel; I will also give thee for a light to the Gentiles that my salvation may be unto the end of the earth." [16] It is in this missionary purpose of God that Isaiah feels the anguish of the exile is to be explained, a redemptive suffering which prefigured the Cross on Calvary.

How this noble interpretation of the spiritual and missionary purpose to be served by the calamity of the exile stands out in contrast with certain other utterances, bitterly nationalistic, born of the same conditions! Think, for example, of the Book of Esther, with its note of race hatred; think, again, of the vengeful cry: "O daughter of Babylon, who art to be destroyed, happy shall he be that rewardeth thee as thou hast served us; happy shall he be that taketh and dasheth thy little ones against the rock." [17]

JONAH AS A MISSIONARY TREATISE

The climax of the missionary spirit of Judaism is found in the little book of Jonah, all too often ignored. It is nothing short of tragedy that this truly sublime story should have become so associated with joking references to a whale that most people miss its profound truth. Its basic message is a deliberate protest against the narrow and selfish nationalism in the religious life of the author's day.

[16] *Isaiah* 49:6. [17] *Psalm* 137:8-9.

Indeed it is no exaggeration to say of this book that it was specifically written as a missionary treatise, and is one of the greatest missionary documents of all times.

Jonah, an old hero of Israel, is pictured as hearing God's call to go and preach to the hated foreign city of Nineveh a message of what God required of it. But he was loath to go; it seemed too much to expect of a Jew. "Nineveh! As well ask a Belgian to go on an evangelistic mission to Berlin." [18] So instead of turning eastward he set sail toward exactly the opposite point of the compass, taking passage to the farthest possible port at the western end of the Mediterranean. Like the hound of heaven, God pursued him in a hurricane and dogged his steps till at last Jonah was ready to fulfil the mission that had been laid upon him. But when the Ninevites repented and were saved from their merited doom, Jonah had again to be rebuked for the intolerance of not desiring that others should be admitted within the circle of God's mercy.[19] To the disgruntled prophet, finding physical relief under a gourd that soon withered in the sun, came the pursuing voice

[18] Hugh Martin, *The Kingdom Without Frontiers,* p. 36. I am indebted to this book for many helpful suggestions.

[19] In thus picturing Jonah as desiring the destruction of the Gentile city, the author rebukes the point of view expressed in such writings as the Apocalypse of Ezra, which portrays God as taking terrible vengeance on his enemies and saying: "Therefore ask no more concerning the multitude of them that perish; for having received liberty they despised the Most High. . . . Therefore thirst and anguish await them." *The Ezra Apocalypse,* Vision III; VIII: 55-56. Translated by G. H. Box, London, 1912.

in gentle irony: "Thou hast had regard for a gourd, for which thou has not labored, nor made to grow; and should not I have regard for Nineveh, that great city wherein are more than six score thousand persons that cannot discern between their right hand and their left [i.e., the children], and also much cattle?" [20] Note the supremely tender touch of the last phrase—not even the sheep and oxen of the Ninevites are excluded from the love of God.

In this story Jonah clearly represented a haughty and self-seeking Jewish nation, uncaring whether others had the blessings that it claimed for itself. What a dramatic way of proclaiming that God's purpose embraced other peoples against whom the Jews cherished deep prejudice! This great seer was telling them, with consummate art, that "out there, beyond the covenant, in the great world lying in darkness, there live not beings created for ignorance and hostility to God, elect for destruction, but men with consciences and hearts, able to turn at his word and to hope in his mercy—that to the farthest ends of the world, and even on the high places of unrighteousness, word and mercy work just as they do within the covenant." [21]

The author of the Book of Jonah was a man far ahead of his time; he saw God as the father of Ninevites as well as of Jews. Was he not also a

[20] *Jonah* 4: 10-11.

[21] George Adam Smith, *The Book of the Twelve Prophets,* vol. II, pp. 533-534, Hodder and Stoughton, London. 1904. New edition, *The Twelve Minor Prophets,* Doran, New York, 1911.

man ahead of many even of our time, who have not yet come to care deeply whether God's purpose of love for Negroes and Mexicans and Chinese, as well as for our own racial group, is fulfilled?

Such was the nobler side of the religious tradition in which Jesus was reared and on which his soul was fed. In his day "Judaism, as a religion, was already blossoming out by some inward transformation. Proudly the Jew felt that he had something to say and bring to the world which concerned all men, viz., the one and only spiritual God, creator of heaven and earth, with his moral law . . . Some part, at least, of her missionary zeal was inherited by Christianity from Judaism." [22]

INFLUENCES OPPOSED TO UNIVERSALISM

There was, however, another side of the Judaism of Jesus' day, an arid legalism and a lifeless routine of ceremonialism which were stifling to the inner life, and against which he spoke in terms of such unmeasured frankness that he was called on to pay for them with his life.[23] The tendency to narrow nationalism with which this legalistic emphasis was associated seems to have been powerful in Jerusa-

[22] Adolph Harnack, *The Mission and Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries,* vol. I, pp. 1, 2, 11. Text references are to the 1904 edition. Further footnote references to this book will read "Harnack, chap. —," etc. A second enlarged and revised edition is included in Reading List.

[23] The prevalence of the legalistic type of religion against which Jesus reacted so passionately has been so often and so fully discussed that it is unnecessary to dwell on it here.

lem in Jesus' time. This was due in large measure, no doubt, to the occupation of Judea by the forces of Rome. Besides the sharp antagonism toward the Romans on political grounds, there was a deep-seated hostility toward the Samaritans on ceremonial grounds. In general, a spirit of something like contempt for those who were outside the pale of the law was widely prevalent.

This attitude at its worst could even find expression in such a statement as this: "O Lord, thou hast said that for our sakes thou madest this world. As for the other nations which also come of Adam, thou hast said that they are nothing and are like unto spittle." [24] If it be true that this is extreme, it is equally true that the lofty conceptions of Jonah and of Isaiah do not seem to have captured the minds of the leaders in Jerusalem.

Proselyting there was, to be sure, but so identified with a nationalistic separateness that it was assumed that the non-Jew could not receive the spiritual blessings of Judaism without submitting to all the minutiae of Jewish customs, law, and ritual. As the Jewish scholar Montefiore explains: "There was always a certain difficulty about proselytes, and a school of thought existed which was opposed to them, for the convert had not only to adopt a new religion but a new nationality. The Jews were proud of their monotheistic religion. In a sense they were

[24] *The Ezra Apocalypse,* Third Vision, VI: 55-56.

keen to push it and to proclaim its merits, but they were hampered by their nationalist law." [25]

So the idea of a mission to the nations never became an essential in the religion of the Old Testament. Large-hearted and far-visioned seers, like the authors of *Jonah* and *Isaiah* (especially chapters 40-55), brought the universal theme to the fore, but the nationalists and the legalists dragged into it again the thought of "a peculiar people." They pictured all other nations either as being subjugated or as accepting every special requirement of the Jewish law. The conception of universalism had been born, but it was still in swaddling clothes, waiting to be set free.

Within Judaism, too, there had grown up sharp cleavages between groups which adhered scrupulously to religious observances, and those that were less rigorous. There was also a rumbling ill will between the powerful class and the common people, especially the despised publicans, who had accepted financial posts under the Roman government. The spirit of an inclusive spiritual fellowship was conspicuously absent.

Yet it was precisely this all-embracing fellowship of the spirit, transcending class and race and nation, which became the keystone of the arch of the community that took its rise from the person of Jesus. What Jesus did was to go back to the best teaching

[25] C. G. Montefiore, *The Synoptic Gospels,* Introduction, section 36.

of the noblest of the Hebrew prophets, overcoming the national pride and exclusiveness then in the ascendancy in the Jewish nation, and to bring to glorious flower the seeds of a universal faith.

THE UNIVERSALITY OF JESUS' TEACHING

Jesus' appeal was to man as man; it depended on no local or limiting considerations. His own work was confined to his own people, no doubt deliberately; but that he thought of all classes and races as included equally in the good purpose of a common Father is evident to any student of the Gospels.

A brief analysis of a few of the cardinal elements in Jesus' teaching will reveal in crystal clearness its universal horizons.[26]

1. Jesus' idea of God is universal.

In his own experience Jesus found God a loving Father, caring for all men everywhere, seeking them in self-giving love, eager to help them, yearning to bring them into fellowship with himself and with one another. He taught the holiness of God, a moral perfection of which the spirit of love was the center. It is a fact too little emphasized that when Jesus commanded his disciples, "Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father in heaven is perfect," it was the climax of his teaching about love and for-

[26] To Professor Cleland B. McAfee of McCormick Theological Seminary I am indebted for much of this outline of the universal elements in the thought of Jesus, as well as for several other stimulating suggestions in this chapter.

giveness.[27] This ultimate love is lord of all creation, the one supreme power in the universe. No one is outside God's family; even the most prodigal son, to the Father's heart, is still a son and the object of redeeming love. God has no favorites; he sends refreshing rain on the just and the unjust alike. "We find one really staggering assertion in Christ's teaching about God—that he is as good to the wicked as to the righteous, because his love for all is absolute and unquenchable." [28]

If God be such as is thus presented in the teaching of Jesus, he must be the universal God, claiming reverent worship from all men. If Jesus' conception of God is valid at all, must it not be valid for all? If Jesus' thought of God is true, there are other and contradictory thoughts of God that cannot be true. How can God be the final ground of unity in the universe, and at the same time be the multitude of beings which popular Hinduism conceives him to be? How can he be the loving Father of men—infinite personality—and at the same time be the indescribable impersonal entity that Buddhism proclaims?

To maintain that all the divergent ideas of God in the world could be correct is folly. No one would think of saying about other realities of his experiences that it does not matter what idea one holds. Would this be true as to the nature of the earth?

[27] *Matthew* 5:38-48.

[28] William Temple, *Personal Religion and the Life of Fellowship*, p. 8.

Some people have regarded it as flat; others think it is round. But which opinion is held makes a crucial difference. In the realm of physical science, it is true, it is far easier to arrive at certainty as to the nature of the object with which we have to do; but if, as Jesus believed, God is a reality verifiable in human experience, must we not come, in the long run, to something like a common understanding as to his character?

And can it ever be a matter of indifference whether people hold the view of God as universal Father which Jesus held, or some conflicting view? While it is doubtless true that as men are, so they conceive God to be, it is still more true that as they conceive God, so eventually do they come to be. So great is the power of the imagination that men tend to grow into the likeness of the being they worship. Thus the conception of God is ultimately the most significant fact about humanity.

2. Jesus' idea of man is universal.

Jesus saw every person as made in the image of God, having an inherent value regardless of race, attainment, or any other consideration. The preciousness of the individual is suggested in parable after parable. The shepherd goes out to seek a single sheep, the woman sweeps the house to find one stray coin, the father yearns for a single wayward son. Nothing in the gospel is clearer than this view of the sacred worth of all human life.

And Jesus discerned values in men where others

discerned none. The lost son was still heir to all his father possessed. A lost man was so precious that the "Son of Man came to seek and to save" him. In Mary Magdalene, whom public opinion regarded as a "lost" woman, he saw the possibilities of finer womanhood; in vacillating Peter, something like a rock; in a thief on a cross, a soul that could be welcomed into paradise. "The common people heard him gladly," because in them he discovered and revealed rights and possibilities which others could not see. A new sense of human worth and dignity springs from every page of the gospel.

From Jesus' conception of personality it follows that material values are always to be thought of as secondary to human values. A man's life does not consist in an abundance of *things*. Yet Jesus was never indifferent to the conditions under which any man lived. He was concerned with outward surroundings just because he knew that they vitally affect the inner life. So he healed the sick, fed the hungry, cleansed the temple, bade those who were in positions of power to undo the heavy burdens of the poor and to let the oppressed go free. He never isolated the human being from its environment or treated it as a disembodied spirit.

All these attitudes of Jesus have to do with humanity as a whole. They are universal attitudes, utterly unconditioned by distinctions of race or class. He knew no "lower classes," all were children of the Most High. No man was to be called master,

all were brothers. If any was to be regarded as great, it was to be only in service to his fellows.

The "perfect" man, as described in the Sermon on the Mount—pure-minded, humble-spirited, just and honest, merciful, forgiving, helpful to friends and enemies alike, courageous in adversity, peace-loving, steadfastly loyal to his principles even at the cost of suffering, living in conscious fellowship with God—is not that the good man wherever he is found? Such a man could emerge anywhere and be at home in any land. Certainly some of the qualities most emphasized by Jesus are not notably characteristic of the Western world. Meekness and gentleness seem to be more honored in China than in America. Quiet meditation is more esteemed in Bombay than in New York. It is difficult to see what universal attitudes toward mankind Jesus could have taken which he did not actually take. It is this essential unity of humanity, as Jesus viewed it, which makes practicable a worldwide human fellowship; there is nothing in any race which fundamentally unfits it for fellowship with any other.

3. Jesus' idea of right human relationships is universal.

He held that all men are members of one family of God, and therefore to be united to one another in love and mutual service and helpfulness. The society which enshrines such relationships, springing out of faith in one common loving Father, Jesus called the Kingdom of God. Such a social order he

thought of not merely as of human devising but as having its origin in God's plan. It is destined to become a reality because it has its foundation in the very character of the Creator of the universe. But it is to be realized only by men's cooperation with Him. They are to "seek first the Kingdom," confident that if they do this all other interests will fall into their proper place.[29]

The general idea of the Kingdom of God Jesus inherited from Judaism, but by his life and teaching he gave it a vastly richer content. He transformed it from a national ideal to a goal of universal significance. To the Jews the Kingdom of God was the righteous society in which the divine purpose for Israel was to find its consummation. In some of the prophets there is a glimpse, as we have already noted, of other nations being included in the Kingdom, but generally speaking, before Jesus' day the Kingdom was conceived as the redeemed Jewish state. In Jesus' view it was not this alone. He did not think of it as having anything to do with geographical and with political boundaries. He saw men coming into it from all quarters of the globe.[30] *Whoever* (a favorite word of Jesus) doeth the will of God—every man of filial trust and brotherly love—is a member of the Kingdom. Men as men are made to be children of God and brothers in one family. To regard them as primarily Jewish, Caucasian or Mongolian, as employers or employees, as

[29] *Matthew* 6:33. [30] *Luke* 13:29.

rich or poor, is to turn one's face from Jesus' view of the Kingdom of God.

Within this universal Kingdom the motive of love is the binding force. "Thou shalt love" is a principle so regnant and inclusive that on it "hang all the law and the prophets." [31] It means not simply an emotional attitude but a directing of the will to the good of all. Thus the sins with which Jesus was most concerned, it should be carefully noted, are those which violate the spirit of love and disrupt human fellowship. His severest rebuke was drawn forth by selfishness, the unforgiving spirit, hatred, pride—those inner qualities which run counter to the ideal of brotherhood.[32]

On the positive side, it was that spirit of fellowship with all men, achieved through a common fellowship with God, which Jesus made the central note of the religious life. No worship of God counted for anything which was not associated with right attitudes toward men. There could be no unity with God apart from unity with one's fellows. How arrestingly Jesus put this truth, in words that are far more penetrating than we usually realize: "If thou bring thy gift to the altar and there rememberest that thy brother hath aught against thee, go thy way; first be reconciled to thy brother and then come and offer thy gift." To quote this passage as

[31] *Matthew* 22:40.

[32] See *Matthew* 5:22-24; 38-39; 43-44; 6:14-15; 18:21-35; 23:23-35. *Luke* 6:37-38; 7:47; 17:1-4; 18:9-17; 20:46-47.

if it had to do only with patching up personal grievances before coming to the communion table is to miss the sweep of its meaning. It was a vivid way of insisting that if a man does not love his brother he does not truly love God.[33]

Surely it is more than accidental that in the two great pictures which Jesus gives us of the last judgment, those who pass under condemnation are men who have been lacking in love and have failed to practise the requirements of fellowship. The one picture is of the rich man who was callous to the suffering of Lazarus.[34] The other is of the group, rejected by the Son of Man when all nations are gathered before him, who have ignored the needs of their fellow-men for food and clothing and shelter.[35]

This law of love Jesus held to be binding in relation to all men, even one's enemies.[36] In this he upset all traditional standards. Xenophon, for example, in eulogizing Cyrus the Younger comes to the very climax of his praise in declaring that no one ever did more good to his friends and more harm to his foes. In the universal application of the principle of love, Jesus passed far beyond even the Jewish moral law. The command to "love thy neighbor as thyself" was a quotation from the Old Testament, it is true, but in the mind and heart of Jesus, "neighbor" received a new definition. In the Old Testament original it meant fellow-Jew, as the

[33] See John M. Moore, *Things That Matter Most*, chap. VI.
[34] *Luke* 16:19-26. [35] *Matthew* 25:31-46. [36] *Matthew* 5:44.

context clearly shows: "Thou shalt not take vengeance nor bear any grudge against the children of thy people, but thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." [37] There was no injunction to love the Gentile. Jesus takes the old command and gives it an almost revolutionary significance.[38]

Jesus' message is thus seen to be consistently universal in its applicability. The Sermon on the Mount, the great parables, the summary of the law as love to God and love to man, these know nothing of racial or national or other limits less wide than humanity. An incident in connection with the Parliament of Religions which met in Chicago in 1893, attended by men of every faith under the sun, was a symbol of this universality. One thing at least all the delegates could agree upon at the outset—to open each session with the Lord's Prayer.

But more important than what Jesus taught was what he was. Or, to put it more adequately, the uniqueness of Jesus lies in the perfect expression of his message through his life, so that in him men saw revealed the very purposes and the character of God. If he taught that all men are children of one Father, no less did he actually live among them as if they were. If he declared love to be the ful-

[37] *Leviticus* 19:18. Verses 33-34 enlarge the injunction to include also love for the resident foreigner, but the limitation to those within Israel's borders still remains.

[38] See Samuel Dickey, *The Constructive Revolution of Jesus*, pp. 56-58.

filling of the law, no less did his every attitude unfailingly disclose the truth of what he declared.

JESUS AS THE UNIVERSAL IDEAL

The catholicity of Jesus' sympathies is apparent first of all in his fraternal relationships with all classes and conditions of men within his own nation. To emphasize social equality and mutual service he even washed the feet of his followers. His friendliness and helpfulness knew no limiting conventions. There was no trace of exclusiveness in him; so plainly was this the case that it scandalized the aristocratic leaders of his day.[39] His most intimate associates were fishermen and artisans. With outcast publicans, whom others despised as traitors to the race, he felt himself at home.[40] In women whom others smugly scorned he saw the possibility of a changed heart. To those who were the victims of economic oppression and injustice his love went out in fullest measure. His sternest feelings were directed toward the unfeeling well-to-do, those who, however pious outwardly, did not hesitate to prosper at the expense of the needy, nor, while fulfilling their "religious" duties, to leave undone "the weightier things—justice and mercy and faithfulness." [41]

Such love as Jesus' could know limits of race no more than it could know limits of class. It is of more than incidental significance that at his very first public appearance in the synagogue Jesus

[39] *Matthew* 11:19. [40] *Matthew* 9:10-13. [41] Matthew 23:23.

pointedly reminded his fellow-townsmen of God's love for the alien.[42] By his references to Elijah's going to a widow of Sidon, and Elisha's healing only a Syrian leper, he seems to have been suggesting the need for a new attitude toward men of other nations. In any case his traditionally minded hearers "were all filled with wrath." In an officer of the Roman army, a group whom the Jews had good reason to hate, Jesus discerned a faith more vital than he had discovered anywhere among his own people.[43] This led him to the great utterance which reveals how completely he had left behind the concept that Jewish birth was a necessary qualification for membership in God's Kingdom. "Many shall come," he said, "from the east and the west, and shall sit down with Abraham and Isaac and Jacob in the Kingdom of Heaven, while the sons of the Kingdom shall be cast out.[44]

One incident, it is true, is sometimes quoted as indicating that Jesus' interest did not extend beyond the Jews. It is the story of the Syro-Phenician woman from whom Jesus at first turns away.[45] The reason assigned is that she is not of the "house of Israel." There is also his command to the Twelve to "go only to the lost sheep of the house of Israel." [46] But such a limitation may easily have

[42] *Luke* 4:25-28. [43] *Matthew* 8:5-10.
[44] *Matthew* 8:11-12; cf. *Luke* 13:29-30.
[45] *Mark* 7:24-30; *Matthew* 15:21-28.
[46] *Matthew* 10:5-6. As a matter of fact, Jesus did himself go to Samaritan as well as Jewish villages. See *John* 4.

been due to a conviction that he must concentrate his energy. Jesus focused his efforts on the Jewish nation for the same reason that he focused them on a little group of disciples within the nation—in order that from this nucleus his message might be spread in widening circles. In any case the important thing in the instance of the Syro-Phenician woman is that Jesus found her worthy of help, and was glad that she would not depart unanswered.

Nowhere is Jesus' emancipation from the circumscribing nationalism of his day disclosed more convincingly than in his dealings with the Samaritans. Between them and the Jews a pronounced antagonism had long been cherished, so bitter that "Jews had no dealings with Samaritans." [47] When the Jews wanted to revile Jesus, there was no more contumelious way of doing so than to say "Thou art a Samaritan and hast a demon." [48] Yet Jesus showed himself utterly free from this anti-Samaritan prejudice. He discussed the deepest realities of religious experiences with a woman of Samaria and spent two days within the city.[49] When the Samaritans displayed the traditional hostility to him and to his disciples, those disciples, sharing the natural Jewish feeling, would have destroyed the inhospitable vil-

[47] *John* 4:9. The Samaritans were a mixed race resulting from the intermingling of Assyrian settlers in Palestine, at the time of the Exile, with the Jews. They developed a separate temple and priesthood.

[48] *John* 8:48.

[49] *John* 4:4-42.

lages, but Jesus severely rebuked such an attitude.[50]

Still more striking though less direct is the implication of the parable of the Good Samaritan. When Jesus desired to give a picture of the spirit of the true child of God and brother of his fellowmen, it was a despised Samaritan, in direct contrast with orthodox Jews, who was portrayed as the great exemplar.[51] If a Negro or an Oriental were substituted for the Good Samaritan, and a Nordic Protestant clergyman substituted for the priest or Levite who passed by on the other side, we should have a fair parallel of Jesus' story for our own day.

A WORLD MISSION THE NATURAL RESULT

So it is not merely in certain special sayings and incidents but in his entire life and character that we discern the universality of Jesus. We may therefore repeat that even if it were possible to prove conclusively that the great commission, "Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature," were not the report of any exact words of Jesus, a worldwide mission would be obligatory upon any church that really grasped the significance of his personality and his message. Even Adolf Harnack, who has argued that Jesus had only the Jewish people consciously in mind, and that the great commission represents a reading back of an idea of

[50] *Luke* 9:52-55. A similar point is to be observed in Jesus' calling attention to the fact that out of ten lepers who were healed, only the Samaritan showed the spirit of gratitude. (*Luke* 17:11-18.)

[51] *Luke* 10:25-37.

the early church into the mind of Jesus, nevertheless strongly insists on the one point that is really crucial. He agrees that universalism is thoroughly implicit in the teaching of Jesus, and that his spirit, if not his precise words, required a missionary movement among the nations.[52]

And as a matter of fact the early Christians, within a short time after Jesus' death, did actually undertake such a mission, and precisely for the reason that they understood it to be the will of their risen Lord. That such an undertaking was the true and natural expression of the spirit and teaching of Jesus there can be no shadow of doubt.

This world outreach, which the early church found to be inseparable from the teaching and spirit of Jesus, comes to its crowning climax in the Gospel of John. This fourth Gospel, written at a considerably later date than the first three, is not a record of bare facts and events but a mature interpretation of their significance. It represents deep meditation and reflection upon the spiritual meaning of what had been said and done in Galilee. In nothing is the insight of the author more profound than in his comprehension of the universality of the Christian message. John sees, more clearly than any other except the Apostle Paul, that Jesus Christ is

[52] Harnack, chap. IV. To the present writer Harnack seems to underestimate the significance of the fact that the great commission is reported (in varying forms) in all three of the synoptic gospels and also, in substance, in the Book of Acts. See *Matthew* 28:19-20; *Mark* 16:15-16; *Luke* 24:47-48; *Acts* 1:8.

too great a Savior to be the Savior of less than all mankind. God so loved the world that he gave his only begotten son . . .[53] Jesus is the light of the world.[54] Lifted up, he is to draw all men unto himself.[55] Other sheep there are, not of the people of Israel, who are to come into the one fold of the one shepherd.[56]

So the Christian church is committed to the missionary enterprise because of the very nature of its gospel. It is impossible to believe deeply in the love of God as Christ reveals it, without dedicating ourselves to a missionary task. A man may, if he will, refuse to share in the missionary spirit, but he cannot do so without failing to be truly Christian.

[53] *John* 3:16. [54] *John* 8:12. [55] *John* 12:33. [56] *John* 10:16.

CHAPTER III

THE ENLARGING HORIZONS OF THE ADVENTURE

As the direct result of the expansion of the Christian outlook to far horizons, Christianity quickly developed from an obscure thing to a faith that was at home in all parts of the civilized world. If there had been no outreaching missionary zeal, if the early Christians had been content to hug their new experience to themselves, it seems clear that Christianity would not have developed into a new religion, but would have remained a minor sect within Judaism.

Not always has the missionary spirit remained at a high throbbing level in the church. Periods of eager enlargement, both at home and abroad, have given way to other periods of more or less inertia. In some quarters at certain times there has even been serious retreat. In general there seems to have been a sort of alternation between advancing and standing still. Eras of expansion have been followed by eras of arrest, or at least of preoccupation with other ends.[1]

In certain periods the failure to establish wider boundaries has been due not so much to flagging

[1] See Edward C. Moore, *The Spread of Christianity in the Modern World,* chap. I.

interest as to the absorption of energies in consolidating the gains already achieved. The process of permeating a nominally Christian community with deeper and more controlling ideals was at work. Peoples that had been "evangelized" were being "Christianized." This, of course, was indispensable to the Christian movement as a whole. In any case, as the following pages will show, the periods of greatest missionary enthusiasm within the church have been its periods of greatest vitality and power.

HOW MISSIONARY PASSION CREATED THE CHURCH

Among the early Christians there was no more conspicuous characteristic than their active eagerness to share with others their new discovery of God in Christ. No one can read the Acts of the Apostles without being impressed by this fact. The book is the flaming story of a great adventure in making the good news known. It reveals a glowing and undaunted spirit which could not be confined within the limits of a single people, but leaped over all frontiers and gave to the Christian community a horizon as wide as the Roman Empire.

This missonary ardor does not seem to have been due simply to a sense of obligation to fulfil a specific injunction to preach the gospel in all the world. It was rather the spontaneous outpouring of an experience so transforming and a faith of such inward compulsion that those who had known it had to say, "We cannot but speak the things which we have

seen and heard."[2] The greater the opposition, the more unquenchable was their spirit. The boldness of Stephen in proclaiming a new freedom from Jewish institutions because of Christ might lead to his own death and to the bitter persecution of his associates, but "scattered abroad they went everywhere preaching the word."[3] So the blood of the martyrs became the seed of the church.

At the outset, the disciples of Jesus limited their labors to the Jews.[4] Not only so, but they apparently adhered to the full observance of the Jewish law and joined loyally in the worship of the Jewish temple.[5] But in their new fellowship with Christ there was a dynamic element which could not long allow their fellowship with their neighbors to exclude members of any race or class. Even before the Apostle Paul appears upon the scene, some of the first barriers had begun to crumble. Philip, followed by Peter and John, went to the neighboring Samaritans with the new message.[6] What a victory of love it was for these Jews thus to find themselves in vital contact with those against whom there had been inveterate prejudice and an ancient grudge!

The incident of Philip's baptizing an unnamed African[7] followed quickly, and Peter's revealing ex-

[2] *Acts* 4:20.
[3] *Acts* 8:4.
[4] As is clear from *Acts* 3-7 and 10-11:18. See also *Acts* 11:19.
[5] See, for example, *Acts* 3:1, 5:12, 5:42.
[6] *Acts* 8:5-25.
[7] *Acts* 8:26.

perience with the Roman Cornelius, as a result of which came the insight that "God is no respecter of persons, but in every nation he that feareth him and worketh righteousness is acceptable to him." In the case of both the Ethiopian and the Roman, however, it should be noticed that they were already partially attached to the Jewish faith, belonging to the group called "God-fearers," [8] men of the Gentile world who had been attracted by the lofty monotheism and moral ideals of the Jews, although they had not become regular proselytes to Judaism.

The flowering out of the Christian community into the consciousness of possessing a character that transcended national and racial lines appears in Antioch. Some of the persecuted adherents of Stephen came in their wanderings to that great commercial center of the eastern part of the Empire, and there preached to the Greeks.[9] Strictly speaking, these associates of Stephen were the first foreign missionaries.[10] From their work in Antioch sprang the first Christian church composed of non-Jewish members.

Indeed, it was not until the movement which took its birth from Jesus Christ had found a home outside his own nation that it even had the name of "Christian." Up to this time his followers seem

[8] *Acts* 8:27 and 10:2. The term, "God-fearer" is a technical one, describing a Gentile who had become an adherent of Judaism but who had not been circumcised.

[9] *Acts* 11:19-26.

[10] See Harnack, vol. I, p. 59.

to have been regarded as within the family of the established national religion; not a group cordially accepted by the Jewish authorities, it is true, and yet not a separate community. It was in Antioch, among a Gentile population, that the disciples were first called Christians. The very name we bear is ours because of the expansion of the church beyond the confines of its original home. But for the missionary spirit of those early years, the Christian movement would probably have been reabsorbed into the tissue of Judaism and never have developed as a world religion.

Nor should we ever forget that it was this "mission" church in Antioch which was the first church, so far as we have any knowledge, to help a sister church in time of need. And the church to which this assistance was given was the mother organization at Jerusalem itself.[11] The good example of Antioch was followed by the new churches in Galatia, Macedonia and Greece, which, soon after they had come into being, sent aid to the Christians in Jerusalem in their continuing poverty.[12] Thus early did the first foreign missionary movement prove an enrichment to the very church from which the missionaries came. More important, the gifts from the Gentile Christians to those at Jerusalem, at a period when the sense of fellowship between Jewish and Gentile Christians had not gone far,

[11] *Acts* 11:28-30.
[12] *Gal.* 2:10; *Rom.* 15:25-27; *I Cor.* 16:1-3.

seem to have been the one visible expression of brotherhood within a common faith.[13]

THE MISSIONARY PASSION OF PAUL

In the Apostle Paul the universal promise of the Christian church burst into full bloom. While not quite the first pioneer missionary to the non-Jewish world, it was Paul who definitely established the right and the duty of the missionary enterprise, and became preeminently the great missionary of the early church. "It was he who raised the movement out of its tentative beginnings into a mission that embraced all the world. He tore the gospel from its Jewish soil and rooted it in the soil of humanity." [14] In the depths of his own profound spiritual struggle he had found in Christ a new moral force, an experience of salvation, which was available for every man. There was no distinction of Jew or Greek, barbarian, Scythian, bond or free.[15] Such superficial dividing lines as those fell away; all were one in Christ Jesus. In a word, a new religion was now fully in force.

Thus did the little group of early Christians enter upon a process of transformation from an inconspicuous Jewish sect into a universal church. But not easily nor without a struggle. Paul had to face a double opposition. First, from the stalwart

[13] Harnack, vol. I, pp. 227-229.
[14] Harnack, vol. I, pp. 54, 64-65.
[15] *Col.* 3:11.

defenders of Judaism, as was to be expected.[16] Secondly, and strangely, from his Jewish fellow-Christians. His work drove a wedge into the Christian community itself. This, however, is not so surprising as might at first appear. To an earnest and conservative Jewish Christian it must have been a shock to be told that one no longer had to regard himself as under the Jewish law. Though he agreed that the gospel was for all men, yet were there no conditions at all which non-Jews must fulfil in order to be accepted as on an equal standing with those who still fully observed the law? The conflict of view came to a head in the so-called Apostolic Council, called at Jerusalem for the purpose of settling the issue as to whether or not the Christians at Antioch must be circumcised.[17] Peter, James and John supported the work of Paul, even though they appear to have had some misgivings and to have confined their own work to the Jews.

To us of the twentieth century this agitation over circumcision may seem to have been hardly more than undue excitement over a detail. But let us see. Substitute for the Christians of ancient Antioch the Christians of present-day China or India; substitute for the issue of conformity to the ceremonial law the issue of conformity to all the doctrinal positions and ecclesiastical practices of the

[16] The record of this is found in almost every chapter of the *Acts*, after 13.

[17] See *Acts* 15. Paul's own account, ardent and uncompromising, is given in *Gal.* 2.

Western world. Is the real question which was debated at the Council of Jerusalem so slight or so out of date, after all? Does it not pierce to the heart of our understanding of Christianity? When read in this light, Paul's Epistle to the Galatians takes on an immensely enhanced significance. It becomes a spirited defense of the new Christian community's freedom from inherited tradition and of its right to develop religious forms in accordance with its own experience of Christ.

Even after the settlement of the dispute at Jerusalem, Paul was not successful in bringing Jewish and Gentile Christians into a genuine fellowship all at once. There were still "zealots for the law" who continued to oppose his work.[18] But the principle of fellowship and freedom had won the victory. The whole future of the church lay not with those who would keep it a national or racial affair, but with those who clearly discerned its universal nature and its meaning for all mankind.

THE CREATIVE INFLUENCE OF PAUL

The significance of this it is impossible to exaggerate. A comparison with Islam is illuminating. Islam rose in Arabia, and throughout its geographical expansion remained on the whole an Arabian religion, bound by the letter of the law of the Koran. "The strength of its youth was also the strength of its manhood. Christianity, almost immediately

[18] *II Thess.* 3:14-16.

after it appeared, was dislodged from the nation to which it belonged; and thus from the very outset it was forced to learn to distinguish between the kernel and the husk." [19]

The revolutionary character of what had taken place in the Christian church will appear when we recall how powerful a sense of racial and cultural superiority had been dissipated. The exclusiveness of Judaism found visible expression in the temple itself in "the middle wall of partition," a stone which marked the point beyond which no Gentile could pass. A tablet discovered in 1871 in Jerusalem, now in the museum at Constantinople, bears this inscription:

"No man of another nation to enter within the fence and enclosure round the temple, and whoever is caught will have himself to blame that his death ensues."

It was the epochal discovery of Paul that "now in Christ Jesus ye that once were far off [i.e., Jew and Gentile] are made nigh in the blood of Christ; for he is our peace who hath made both one, and hath broken down the middle wall of partition." [20]

In his own heart Paul had felt the barriers between himself and his fellows of other races crumble away when he realized that what Christ meant to him, Christ could mean to every man. There could be "no distinction between Jew and Greek, for the same Lord is Lord of all and is rich unto all that

[19] Harnack, vol. I, p. 74. [20] *Eph.* 2:13, 14.

call upon him." [21] In one spirit they were "all baptized into one body, whether Jews or Greeks, whether bond or free." [22] This was Paul's unswerving reply to the proud spirit of Pharisaism within the early church, and his position triumphed. It was as if those who today arrogantly boast of inherent superiority as members of the white race were, through the influence of Christ, to become aware of their fundamental unity with Orientals and Negroes. Paul's great battle for the principle of fellowship, which appears everywhere in his letters, though in terms that we sometimes do not understand, has to be refought again and again. "We shall not fight it today, in ourselves or in the church, with the precise weapons which Paul used; but if we can read his essential thought out of its obsolete forms into the living language of today, we shall at least know how to deal with that undying Pharisee whom most of us carry beneath our hats." [23]

When Paul died, the Christian religion, thanks to his vision of its universal character, had leaped far beyond the bounds of its birth. The Pauline letters to the Christian communities of Ephesus, of Galatia, of Corinth, of Rome, testify to its amazing expansion. It had spread throughout the provinces of Asia Minor. It had jumped across the

[21] *Rom.* 10:12.

[22] *I Cor.* 12:13.

[23] C. H. Dodd, *The Meaning of Paul for Today*, p. 53—a book which has been very suggestive for this chapter.

Ægean Sea into Greece, Macedonia and the islands of Cyprus and Crete. Westward it had made its way across the Adriatic into Italy and taken root in the capital of the world of that day. It is probable that Paul journeyed even into Spain.[24] Within the span of a single generation the boundaries of Christianity had become co-terminous with the whole Mediterranean basin.

MISSIONARY TRIUMPH OF THE FIRST CENTURIES

Between the time of Paul and the official recognition of Christianity by the Emperor Constantine in 313 A.D., the more intensive occupation of the empire by the Christian church seems to have gone forward vigorously. Not long after the end of the first century the impression of Christianity set forth in *The Shepherd* of Hermas, perhaps somewhat exaggerated, was that of a "mighty tree which overshadows plains, mountains and all the earth." [25] Justin Martyr, about 170 A.D., declares in similar vein that "there is not a single race of human beings, barbarians, Greeks or whatever name you please to call them, nomads or vagrants or herdsmen living in tents, where prayers in the name of Jesus the crucified are not offered up." [26] Even though this may be too sweeping a generalization, it is certain that there were Christians beyond the limits

[24] *Rom.* 15:24, 28 indicates Paul's intention of doing so. Harnack, vol. II, p. 244, thinks he probably carried out this plan.

[25] *Similitude* VIII:3.

[26] *Dialogue with Trypho,* CXVII.

of the Roman Empire considerably before the end of the second century.[27] Irenæus about 180 A.D. refers to churches in Germany, Spain, Gaul, Egypt, Libya and "the East," [28] and Tertullian speaks of places in Britain which, though inaccessible to Rome, have yielded to Christ.[29] From the writings of Cyprian we know that about the middle of the third century Christianity had become a powerful force in Carthage and in other parts of northern Africa. Although we cannot always be certain of our information about this early period, there is the indisputable fact that, in spite of intermittent persecutions by Roman emperors, Christianity had become influential and widespread within a period of less than three centuries of its life. Constantine, soon after the beginning of the fourth century, accorded it special recognition and was himself baptized. One country, Armenia, was officially a Christian nation before that time.[30]

Viewed in the large, it is not too much to say that within less than three hundred years Christianity had spread throughout the entire Roman Empire. The world of that day was small indeed compared with ours, but the early Christians had really gone "into all the world" they knew, and preached the gospel.

[27] Harnack, vol. II: pp. 245-246.

[28] *Against Heresies,* I:X:2.

[29] *Against the Jews,* VII.

[30] Eusebius refers to the Armenians simply by the name Christians.

DECLINE OF MISSIONARY ZEAL

But the hour of outward victory proved to be also an hour of inward defeat. Established in a place of prestige and associated with political power, Christianity faced new and insidious dangers far more hurtful than persecution. Baptism into the church, instead of being a symbol of a moral and spiritual experience, was often the means to material advantage. Before the church there was the constant and insidious temptation to have other than Christlike aims and to use other than Christlike methods of winning its way. Political influence and even force could be employed, and on not a few occasions were employed, to induce great masses of people to become Christians in name. Martin of Tours, in his pioneer missionary work in the fourth century in what is now France, forcibly demolished idol temples and groves. When Clovis, king of the Franks, became a convert (about 500 A.D.) as a result of a military victory, his soldiers were promptly baptized en masse. It was a frequent practice of Charlemagne to give a conquered people the option of baptism or slaughter. The spiritual life of the church was not deep enough to be the source of a missionary passion which felt the need of no support other than the appeal of Christ to the heart.

It will be worth our while to recall these early mistakes when we come to the study of modern missions, for although we have long ago outgrown such

crude and self-defeating methods of religious work as Martin or Charlemagne used, our missionary movement has not been without a subtle tendency to rely too much on political aid and influence, so that to the people of India or China Christianity today sometimes appears allied with Western aggression.[31]

As the membership of the church became larger and more widespread, its energies ran out into other channels than spontaneous expansion. It became engrossed with a vast task of ecclesiastical organization, resulting in the Roman Catholic system of today. Theological controversies were an absorbing issue. Definition of the faith seemed more important than its promulgation. A period of something like stagnation and supineness followed the rise of the church to imperial favor and power.

Bright stars, however, shone in the dark sky. Individual leaders arose whose enthusiasm for the gospel sent them to new peoples even in a time when the church as a whole had settled down to other interests. Especially noteworthy was the work of Ulfilas. No longer at home in the church of the Empire after the decision of the Council of Nicæa against the Arians, he went to the barbarian Goths around the Danube and devoted himself generously to their needs, setting an example that is

[31] It is in a treaty forced upon China, for example, by Western powers that the right of Christian missionaries to carry on their work in China is guaranteed.

followed by wise missionary leaders in our own day. He even secured for the Goths a grant of rich pasture land within the boundaries of the Roman Empire where they could live in peace. How many times since then have Christian missions been responsible for the social and economic betterment of the peoples among whom they labored! Finding the Goths letterless, Ulfilas invented an alphabet, reduced their language to writing, and translated the Bible into their tongue, again, in this educational work, blazing a path in which modern missions followed.

HOW MISSIONARY PASSION SAVED THE CHURCH

Before the sixth century opened, a new period of missionary vigor had set in which was to eventuate in the conversion of the peoples of northern Europe. Saint Patrick, a Scot who as a boy had been carried into captivity by Irish pirates, had already, in the latter half of the fifth century, been a flaming messenger of the gospel in Ireland. There he had planted churches and monastic schools which became centers of far-spreading influence, not only in Ireland but in other lands as well. The Scotland that had given to the Irish their greatest apostle found its own life blest in return when Ireland gave to Scotland a great spiritual leader in Columba. Crossing the Irish Channel in 563, Columba founded on the Island of Iona a religious and educational center from which extraordinary missionary impulses went

out over Scotland and the adjacent islands. Thus did an unselfish missionary spirit react, as in every other age, in rich blessing on the land from which it came. Suppose the Scottish Patrick had not gone to Ireland; then, in all probability, there would have been no Irish Christian Columba to implant in Scotland the ideals that have made it one of the greatest Christian forces through the centuries.

In England at about the same time Augustine, missionary from Rome, was the most influential of the early Christian leaders. It was Augustine who founded Canterbury Cathedral and became its first archbishop. From England in turn, a century and a half later, went out the greatest of the early missionaries to Germany, Boniface, who, through monasteries and schools, brought civilization to what were then barbarous tribes. After another hundred years Ansgar, who might well be called the first medical missionary, carried the gospel to Denmark and Sweden, in the face of great opposition. Here as elsewhere Christianity proved itself to be a great civilizing and educational influence.

So, while the civilization of the Roman Empire was disintegrating before the assaults of the barbarians from the North, with the result that the Christian church around the Mediterranean was on the decline, fresh sources of power were being gained in northern Europe through the outgoing and self-giving spirit of missionary pioneers. As the missionary impulse had earlier created the church,

so now it was the salvation of the church. Had there been no great souls to burst through the prevailing lethargy and claim new frontiers for Christ, the Christian movement might have sunk into obscurity. If the new peoples who were coming into a place of destiny in Europe had not been touched by Christian influences, who can tell what immeasurable loss the church would have suffered?

For we must remember that during the very period when the work of Columba and Augustine and Boniface was causing it to extend its boundaries, Christianity in its old home was beginning to suffer a crushing defeat before the vigorous advances of the new religion of Islam. Beginning in Arabia, Islam swept with fiery zeal around the eastern end of the Mediterranean basin, until many of the ancient Christian citadels in Syria, Asia Minor and northern Africa were completely under its sway. Its conquest spread as far westward as Spain. That the triumph of Islam was due in large measure to the sterility and corruption into which great sections of the Christian church had fallen can hardly be doubted. The church in northern Africa—the church which had produced creative leaders like Cyprian, Tertullian, Athanasius, Augustine—was overwhelmed. One wonders whether as ruinous a fate might not have overtaken the church in the Near East also, had it not been, again, for the fresh resources released by missionary expansion. For in the ninth century two priests of the Greek Ortho-

dox Church, Cyril and Methodius, went to Bulgaria, Bohemia and Moravia,[32] reduced the Slavonian dialects to writing, translated the Bible, and won great missionary success. A century later Russia turned to Christianity. Roughly speaking, it required about a thousand years for Europe to become nominally Christian. Spain, however, was still under the sway of the Moors, and much of Scandinavia was hardly more than touched by Christianity.[33]

THE DARKER SIDE OF THE MIDDLE AGES

Following the expansion of Christianity throughout northern Europe there ensued another stationary period of four hundred years or more. Ecclesiastical leaders were too busy contending with kings for the control of the politics of Europe for the church to have a great vision of its responsibility to other peoples.

One interest, however, that was semi-religious, was sweeping Europe like wildfire during the late eleventh and the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

[32] It was out of Moravia, thus early touched by the Eastern church, that the great impulse to Protestant missions came in the eighteenth century.

[33] There were also feeble outposts of Christianity in Asia. The Nestorian church, founded in the fifth century by a bishop who had been cast out for what were regarded as unorthodox views and who with his followers settled in Persia, was for several years characterized by an intense missionary spirit. Its representatives penetrated as far east as China. But the church in China entirely disappeared. A tablet bearing the date of 781 A.D., discovered in the province of Shensi, records in Chinese and Syriac the arrival of the Nestorians and their successes.

This interest was the Crusades, launched by the popes as an attempt to regain the Holy Land from the grasp of Islam, to punish the Turks for mistreating Christian pilgrims along the road to the shrines of Palestine, and to thrust them back from their menacing approach to Constantinople. The slogan, "God wills it," under the impetuous preaching of Peter the Hermit, let loose an almost incredible enthusiasm. But in spite of the romantic ideal of replacing the crescent by the cross over the Holy Sepulchre, it has had to be admitted that the spiritual foundations of the Crusades were flimsy and that behind them lay a strange mixture of motives, good and bad. That some of the Crusaders had a genuine passion for the conversion of the Saracens none can doubt; the gentle Saint Francis of Assisi appears to have joined one of their expeditions for this reason. The great majority, however, seem to have been impelled more by the desire for adventure, military renown and material advantage than by religious zeal.

Certainly the Crusades as a whole were essentially a military exploit rather than a missionary enterprise. Impulses of hatred and revenge against the Turks played a larger part than that spirit of love which is the heart-beat of Christian missions. When Jerusalem passed for a time into the hands of the Crusaders, the army even gave way to a frightful massacre of the inhabitants—and this in the name of him who had bade his followers to love their

enemies, and in this very city had laid down his life as the climax of his revelation of the love of God. If there is one lesson from the Crusades more than another which we should take to heart, it is the self-destroying character of any effort to further Christianity by unchristian methods. There is no room for doubt that the spirit displayed in the "Christian" Crusades has been one of the factors which have made the door to the Moslem heart so barred, even in our own day, against the Christian message.

Just when the military expeditions against the Moslems were being abandoned, in the latter part of the thirteenth century, a champion of a very different approach to Islam arose, Raymond Lull. His years of indefatigable scholarly preparation, including the mastery of the Arabic tongue, and his sacrificial spirit culminating in a martyr's death in north Africa, made him, despite the slight tangible results of his work, the inspiring forerunner of modern missions to Moslem lands. In an unforgettable line Lull summed up both his own view of life and the true missionary spirit: "He who loves not, lives not; he who lives by the Life cannot die."

Although the generations between the Crusades and the Reformation were occasionally marked by other missionary figures of dimless luster, like John de Monte Corvino, a Franciscan monk who spent three years in reaching China and there met with considerable transitory success, the missionary passion in the church at large was not strong enough

to give the support needed to build strongly or durably in foreign lands. A single incident is illustrative. In the thirteenth century the renowned Mongol emperor, Kublai Khan, having learned enough of Christianity to pique his interest, forwarded, through the father of the famous Marco Polo, a request to the pope that a hundred Christian leaders and teachers be sent to China. But the church at Rome was so absorbed in other matters that all it did was to send two Dominican friars, who turned back even before they reached their destination. Who can measure what might have happened in China, had there been sufficient zeal in the church to seize so rare an opportunity?

THE BRIGHTER SIDE OF THE MIDDLE AGES

But there is another and brighter side of medieval Christianity, a side all too often overlooked by Protestants. There was a noble vision of the church as concerned with all phases of human life and as giving a moral unity to the whole social fabric. It will not do for us to forget that underneath the claim of the supremacy of the church over all temporal affairs there lay the spiritual conviction that nothing that was human could be outside the interest of the Christian religion. The church at times expressed this doctrine in unreasonable and even unspiritual ways. It was often much more concerned about securing power and dominance for the ecclesiastical organization than about making the ideals of Jesus

win their way in the world's life through their own inherent worth and beauty. But this must not blind our eyes to the underlying fact that the church was consciously interested in securing a right ordering of the political and economic relations of men.

The gild system of industry, to take a single example, sustained a close relation to the church. The fact that each gild had its patron saint was something more than a superstition; it was a recognition that there was no separation between economic affairs and religion. The head of the gild family had definite obligations for the welfare of the journeymen and apprentices with whom he was associated. The gild itself, in its best days, was organized on the principle of public service. It aimed, theoretically at least, to furnish the best possible production at the fairest price, as was appropriate for an industrial organization that existed under the patronage of the church. It can hardly be denied that medieval industry was more Christian in spirit than our modern factory system, which depersonalizes the relations between master and man and frankly regards the profit motive as controlling. And for the measure of ethical control over industry in the Middle Ages the church, conscious of its responsibility for the character of social life, doubtless largely deserves the credit. The industrial problem was, of course, incalculably simpler prior to the rise of the factory system, but at least the church did not regard industrial questions as outside its field.

In a figure like Saint Francis of Assisi, the concern for human welfare and brotherhood in medieval Christianity comes to unforgettable expression. The seven hundredth anniversary of his death, recently observed,[34] may well remind us what an intense social and missionary passion burned in some of the great souls of that day. Indeed, Saint Francis may be taken as an incarnation of the home missionary spirit. Deliberately dedicating all that he was and owned to the service of his fellows, his life was a constant rebuke to the power and insolence of wealth and the craving for material possessions and privileges which disfigured the social life of his day and now disfigure ours. By the force of his example, second only to that of his Master and Lord, Saint Francis taught the world "that the rich should live simply in order that they may give greatly and generously; that family life should be pure and self-denying and blessed of God; that the dealings of man with man in the market-place should be just and loving; that the poor should be saved from oppression and squalor and given their share of earth and air and beauty and joy; that rich and poor alike should learn to delight in simple things, and find springs of joy in friendship with God, and friendship with man, and friendship with nature and lovely things."[35]

What happened after Saint Francis' death is an

[34] October 4, 1926.

[35] William H. Leathem, *The Life of St. Francis of Assisi.*

illuminating commentary upon the problems of institutionalized religion. For the very church which gave him birth, which nourished his soul, which gave its blessing to the religious order that he founded, was so little affected by his spirit that it even suppressed the extremist wing of the Franciscan order. The result was that a movement originally based on the ideals of poverty and simplicity, as a protest against the materialism of the age, came to be dominated by the very influences against which Saint Francis had set his life.

REBIRTH OF CATHOLIC MISSIONS

Early in the sixteenth century a new day of vigor dawned upon the Roman Catholic Church. For this revival two new developments of colossal significance were chiefly responsible.

The first was the unparalleled activity in geographical exploration. The discovery of a new world by Columbus and of a new route to India by Vasco da Gama, at almost the same time, gave a potent impetus to colonization in distant lands and enormously widened the horizon of that day. The Far West and the Far East both came into the living consciousness of Europe. And the new discoveries were so many new pathways for the gospel. Missionary priests accompanied nearly all the expeditions. South America, Central America, Mexico, early became Catholic strongholds, although not much can be said for the moral and spiritual char-

acter of the Christianity that became established there.[36] While the Spaniards were ruthlessly exploiting the American Indians, not a few of their best missionaries were rendering devoted service to the native peoples. Of the finest type among them was Las Casas, a Dominican friar who arrived in the West Indies only a decade later than Columbus. His unceasing opposition to the greed and cruelty of the Spanish conquerors and his success in having it declared illegal to make slaves of the natives, warrant us in regarding Las Casas as the first great apostle of social justice in the western hemisphere.[37]

The other factor which now spurred the Catholic church to fresh missionary undertakings was the Protestant Reformation. Springing out of deep-seated abuses in the old church, this new spiritual movement quickly assumed proportions that could not be ignored. Its emphasis on religion as a matter of immediate contact between the individual soul and its God, depending on no ecclesiastical organization or priest or rite, won a glowing response in western and northern Europe. Confronted by startling losses, the Roman Church proved the truth

[36] The work of the Franciscans and later of the Jesuits among the North American Indians constitutes a story of heroic though abortive efforts. How closely the missionaries followed in the wake of the explorers is illustrated by the fact that when Joliet made his famous voyage down the Mississippi in 1673 he was accompanied by the hardly less renowned Father Marquette.

[37] To save his Indian converts from slavery he sanctioned the importation of slave labor from Africa, a step which he later deeply regretted.

of the dictum that the best defensive is an offensive. It not only launched what has been called the Counter-Reformation, resulting in a substantial renovation of the inner life of the church at home, but inaugurated a powerful and extensive missionary program in the distant lands which were being opened up by Spanish, Portuguese and French explorers. Again we see compelling evidence of the beneficent way in which an outgoing missionary spirit reacts on the church. Through its bold and well sustained efforts to carry the gospel to other peoples, Catholicism found a new and sorely needed source of strength. As the overleaping of the bounds of Judaism under the influence of Paul saved early Christianity from obscurity, as the conversion of the tribes of northern Europe gave a rebirth to the church when it was suffering under the disintegration of the Roman Empire and the advance of Islam, so now the Catholic missionary ventures in the Americas, India, the Far East and the islands of the Pacific were at least a partial compensation for its losses in Europe.

The fresh burst of missionary activity in the Roman church gained its preeminent manifestation in the Society of Jesus, founded by Ignatius Loyola in the first half of the sixteenth century, the same period when Luther and Calvin and Zwingli were laying the foundations of Protestantism. While the older monastic orders of the Franciscans and the Dominicans had a conspicuous share in Catholic mis-

sions, it was the Jesuits, with their flaming zeal and their compact soldier-like organization, who furnished the life-blood of the movement. In Francis Xavier, the greatest of the Jesuit missionaries, we see a figure that must command the admiration of every Christian. The spirit and energy which carried him to India, Japan and China, the heroism and self-abnegation of the man and his religious passion mark him as one of the great leaders of the church in any age. Yet in many respects his work was amazingly superficial. He never mastered any oriental language; he baptized the masses of India by the thousands, oftentimes without their having the slightest comprehension of the meaning of the act. Other Jesuits, like Robert de Nobili in India and Father Ricci in China, undertook by more thorough methods to reach the cultured classes, but they also fell into serious mistakes. In both China and Japan the Catholic missions were finally ejected by severe governmental orders.

We might summarize this situation by saying that Catholic missions of this period too easily tolerated unchristian practices, such as the caste system; were satisfied with merely nominal conversions; failed to build up self-reliant native churches; mingled political and commercial motives with their missionary zeal; suffered from jealousies and antagonisms

[38] Because of a conflict between the Jesuits and other religious orders, the Pope instituted the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith in 1622, which has ever since directed all the missionary operations of the Roman church.

PACIFIC BIBLE SEMINARY EAST ANAHEIM STREET LONG BEACH, CALIFORNIA

among the various religious orders.[38] These elements of weakness, it may well be noted, are such as confront the missionary movement even in our own day, so that the modern church has much to learn from a study of these Catholic pioneers.[39]

THE BIRTH OF PROTESTANT MISSIONS

Although the Reformation laid the foundations for a greater and truer missionary effort than any since the days of the Apostle Paul, Protestantism for two hundred years was strangely unaware of the mighty implications of its faith for the world. The new churches, as a whole, were provincial, "locked in icy indifference and insensibility" [40] to the rest of the world. That this could have been the case seems all the more curious when we recall that these were the very years when new worlds were being opened up to men's gaze by intrepid explorers and colonizers. Regrettable as the picture is, candor compels us to admit that it was the Catholic Church, forsaken by the reformers because of its inadequacies, rather than the Protestant bodies, which kept the missionary flame burning during the early era of the Reformation. Indeed there has hardly been any other period in the whole history

[39] For a sympathetic interpretation of Roman Catholic missions of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries from a Protestant viewpoint, see Louise Creighton's *Missions, Their Rise and Development,* chap. II.

[40] A. T. Pierson, *The New Acts of the Apostles,* p. 74, 1894 edition. (New edition, *The Acts of the Holy Spirit,* Revell, 1925.)

of the Christian church so barren of missionary enterprise abroad as this stage of Protestantism.

When occasional voices were raised suggesting that the gospel should be carried to distant lands, conservative opinion opposed it. One leader even declared that those who are to be converted must not be "barbarians who have hardly aught of humanity but the outward form, such as Greenlanders, Lapps, Samoyedes, cannibals; they must not be fierce and tyrannical, like the remote Tartars beyond the Caspian Sea or whole nations in the northern regions of America. . . . The holy things of God are not to be cast before such dogs and swine." [41] Strange language from disciples of him who died for such as these! Yet is it essentially different from the contemptuous attitude which not a few still take today toward so-called inferior peoples?

The reasons for the lack of world vision in early Protestantism, however, are easy to understand. There were at least three:

1. The Protestant churches were engaged in a necessary task of consolidating the position already won. Decades of incessant struggle would be required to establish their new institutions firmly and to build up communities in which their principles should prevail. The daring effort of Calvin to develop in Geneva a truly Christian city, and the impress left on the whole of Scotland by the stern preacher, John Knox, illustrate the vitality of the

[41] Quoted by L. M. Hodgkins in *Via Christi*, p. 162.

new churches in dealing with domestic issues on which hung the future strength of Protestantism.

2. Protestantism was so closely identified in its origins with the rising spirit of nationalism that it did not easily attain to a world vision. Having broken away from control by Rome and from its far-flung organization, the Protestant peoples of Germany, England, Scotland, Scandinavia, Switzerland, the Netherlands and France found their interest focussed on their respective national problems.

3. The Protestant groups were absorbed in formulating and defining the new faith. The controversies among Lutherans, Reformed, Anabaptists and others, while perhaps inevitable as the price of a free Christianity, were nevertheless divisive and weakening, and hardly conducive either to the deepest spiritual life at home or to expansion abroad.

In the latter half of the seventeenth century occasional voices began to set forth the missionary duty of the church and to challenge the conscience of Christians with questions still pertinent today. "Is it right," asked the Austrian Baron von Weltz, "that we, evangelical Christians, hold the gospel for ourselves alone, and do not seek to spread it? Is it right that we spend so much on all sorts of dress, delicacies in eating and drinking, etc., but have hitherto thought of no means for the spread of the gospel?" Failing to arouse others, he himself sailed, dependent on his own resources, for Dutch Guiana, where he soon filled a martyr's grave.

THE EARLIEST PROTESTANT MISSIONS

But not until after the spiritual awakening known as the Pietist movement, which arose in German Lutheranism just before the beginning of the eighteenth century as a protest against sterile orthodoxy and formalism, was the Protestant missionary spirit released in any definite way. What may be regarded as the first foreign mission sponsored by Protestantism was sent in 1705 to Tranquebar, a Danish settlement in South India, through the influence of the Pietist leaders among the Lutherans at Halle, with the moral and financial help of the King of Denmark.[42] These missionaries were followed by the outstanding figure among the earliest Protestant missionaries, a German Lutheran, Christian Frederick Schwartz, who so won the confidence even of Indian princes that on one occasion he was the only man through whom the Mohammedan ruler of Mysore would treat with the British. "Send me the Christian," he said, "he will not deceive me."

Greater than this direct work of the Pietists was that which was stimulated through their influence on the Moravians, descendants of the persecuted

[42] The first representatives of the Danish-Halle mission were Bartholomew Ziegenbalg and Henry Plütschau. Assistance was also given by two English societies which had just been founded by the Anglicans: the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, organized in 1698, originally aiming to provide literature for the clergy rather than to carry on missionary work; and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, founded in 1701 for work among the British settlers overseas and the native peoples with whom they came in contact.

followers of John Huss. They had migrated from Bohemia to Herrnhut, Saxony, where they were invited to settle on the estate of Count Zinzendorf. Trained under the Pietists, Zinzendorf was a man of burning evangelistic fervor, expressed by his motto, "I have one passion; it is He, and He alone." Under Zinzendorf's leadership the Moravians developed a sense of missionary responsibility which has never been equaled in any other body and which continues to this day. From the outset, when in 1732 they sent two missionaries to the slaves in the West Indies, they chose for themselves the most uninviting fields. The frozen coasts of Greenland and Labrador, the tropical forests of Central and South America, the domain of the Indians of the United States and Alaska and of the Negroes of Africa, were all goals of their self-giving zeal. The Moravians may have been somewhat lacking in statesmanship in concentrating their efforts on obscure peoples and desolate lands rather than on the great strategic centers of the non-Christian world. It would be easy also to point out their narrowly individualistic programs, their early failure to develop a native leadership, but any words of disparagement die upon the lips when one realizes the depth of devotion and the sacrificial spirit of a body which today has the unmatched record of maintaining one missionary for fewer than every hundred of its membership.

The Moravians, inspired by the Pietists, were

in turn an inspiration to John Wesley, through whom new fires of spiritual life were set burning throughout the English-speaking world. Encouraged by devout Moravians to believe that a deeper spiritual satisfaction and peace could be found in Christ than he had yet attained, Wesley passed through an experience in which he felt his heart "strangely warmed," and which sent him forth to say, "The world is my parish." From that fountain flowed a stream of emphasis on first-hand religious experience which had a transforming effect on the early eighteenth century. The moral and religious life of the day was at a low ebb. Over England had swept a wave of rationalism. The cold morality that was being taught by the church had little power. Social conditions were appalling. The influence of the church upon them seemed slight.

On such a scene broke the evangelistic zeal of the Wesleys. It came as a great home missionary movement, directed chiefly toward reaching the poor and neglected classes. It not only rekindled religious life but profoundly stimulated the social conscience. From the movement, for example, came influences that stirred William Wilberforce to fight the slave trade to its death, John Howard to begin his ardent campaign for prison reform, and Robert Raikes to organize the first Sunday schools as a means of teaching the children of the poor. In the American colonies just before the middle of the eighteenth century a co-laborer of Wesley's, George

Whitefield, and Jonathan Edwards, by the power of their preaching, gave rise to the memorable revival known as the Great Awakening.

Looking back over the course of Christian history in Europe, one fact of overwhelming significance looms up: the birth of the modern missionary movement was the direct outcome of a rekindling of the spiritual life. It was the Pietist movement on the Continent and the evangelical revival in England that created the dynamic for undertaking to win the world to Christ. The obverse of the picture is no less striking: the reaction of the missionary enterprise upon the church at home was a potent factor in deepening its own power. The attempt to claim the world for Christ generated sources of energy without which the church would not have attained to a vision of its true task of permeating every phase of human life with his spirit.

CHAPTER IV

THE ADVENTURE IN AMERICA

At the dawn of the nineteenth century in America the irresistible push away from the Atlantic seaboard to the unclaimed regions of the Middle West had just begun. Intrepid pioneers like Daniel Boone had crossed the Appalachian Mountains and established new frontiers in Kentucky and Tennessee. Lewis and Clark were following the Missouri River into the Northwest and exploring regions as distant as those bordering on the Pacific. The opening of the country north of the Ohio River for settlement by the Ordinance of 1787, followed in 1803 by the purchase of the vast territory called Louisiana west of the Mississippi, offered almost limitless opportunities which were eagerly seized. The story of this migration to the West is one that has thrilled every schoolboy. The slow trek over the mountains, the fording of rivers hitherto crossed by only an occasional white man, the stubborn opposition of the Indians, the building of rude cabin homes on the prairies, the breaking of the land for the first crops, and ever the lure of the trail to further regions beyond, comprise a record of exhilarating adventure that makes the blood leap faster.

Less known but hardly less dramatic is the nar-

rative of the way in which the advance guard of the Christian movement also ventured out on the newly blazed paths.[1] The call to enter that West whither their sons and daughters were going met an eager response from the churches. As one reads of the circuit riders, like Francis Asbury, following on horseback every fresh trail, or of the dauntless missionaries responding to the appeal of need from the farthest horizon, one feels them to be described by the lines of Kipling's "Pioneers." They might be at "the edge of cultivation"; there might seem "no sense in going further"; but

> . . . a Voice, as bad as Conscience, rang interminable changes
> On one everlasting Whisper, day and night repeated—so:
> "Something hidden, go and find it. Go and look behind the ranges;
> "Something lost behind the ranges, lost and waiting for you. Go!"

They went. They had experiences as tingling as had Davy Crockett or Daniel Boone. And they influenced the development of the higher life of America as profoundly as the explorers and early settlers affected its general history. These Christian pioneers did a work of nothing less than epoch-making consequence, for it was of their fervid concern for the new country that the permanent home missionary movement on a national scale had its

[1] For a brief account, see Henry K. Rowe's *The History of Religion in the United States,* chap. V.

birth.[2] "Home missions were the religious version of the geographical occupancy of the continent. They were migrant Christianity, ever camping on the trail of empire and conquering for ideals what the pioneer conquered for the nation; redeeming from materialism and vice what he redeemed from forest, swamp, empty prairie and roving savage." [3]

FOLLOWING WESTERN TRAILS

This contact with the ever expanding frontier enlarged the outlook of the churches in the east and gave them commanding interests outside of themselves. It saved them from a provincial conception of the Kingdom of God. It gave them a horizon as wide as the nation, eventually as wide as

[2] Missionary work among the Indians, however, had been begun more than a century and a half earlier. Foremost of those who labored in their behalf was John Eliot, who in 1646 preached the first sermon ever heard by the Iroquois in their own tongue. He made a translation of the Scriptures into the Mohegan language which was probably the first Bible printed on American soil. He gathered his converts into Indian Christian communities, provided for them churches and schools with native leaders, taught them industries and agriculture, and sought by every means in his power to protect them from rapacious settlers of his own race. Subsequent missionaries, like the Mayhews in Martha's Vineyard, Eleazer Wheelock in the school which later developed into Dartmouth College, and the youthful David Brainerd, gave heroic service to the evangelization of the Indians. Their efforts were but feebly supported, and no deep sympathy seems to have been developed in the churches. As a student of this period says, "The history of Indian missions in the colonial period becomes an anti-climax, with its finest chapter at the beginning."

[3] H. Paul Douglass, *The New Home Missions*, p. 4. To this indispensable volume I am deeply indebted.

the earth. One can hardly paint too vividly the picture of the influence of the frontier on American Christianity.[4] Without the spur of this responsibility for great regions which were being opened up in the West, it may be doubted whether the vision of the American churches would have passed beyond national boundaries and included the world. Certainly it is significant that Samuel J. Mills, one of the original Williamstown Haystack group who initiated in America the foreign missionary movement, grew up in a family that had been engaged in home missionary work, and that he had heard over and over from his mother the inspiring service of Eliot and Brainerd among the Indians.

Although Mills never reached a foreign shore, he became one of the most far-visioned leaders in the Christian movement at home. The observations made in 1813 by Mills and Schermerhorn, agents of the Massachusetts and the Connecticut Missionary Societies, in their long tour across the Alleghenies, through the Western Reserve and down the Mississippi to New Orleans, form a most interesting home missionary survey of this early period.[5] Compared with the modern scientific surveys of religious and social forces this one seems curiously simple, but it is a colorful picture of the sore need for the ministry of the church. The two observers

[4] This theme is developed in Peter G. Mode's *The Frontier Spirit in American Christianity.*

[5] *The New Home Missions,* pp. 9, 10, 39.

chronicled conditions which shocked their Puritan consciences—Sabbath-breaking, gambling, profanity, horse-racing. They reported an appalling dearth of religious influences, of spiritual leadership, of literature, of Bibles. One of the outcomes of their tour was the American Bible Society.

Measured by present-day standards this early missionary work may appear to have been superficial. The missionary could stay only a few days in a place; he must press on to other districts that, except for him, would hear no preaching of the gospel. His one great method was the revival. That the revival of this period lacked constructive social emphasis and appealed chiefly to hopes of individual salvation in another world is no doubt true. That it was often characterized by an extreme emotionalism, the effects of which might be transient, must also be conceded. Yet in the existing state of things, with the people sparsely scattered over great areas and having few or no settled pastors, it is not surprising that the revival should have seemed the one means by which it was possible for a mere handful of circuit-riders or missionaries to provide a spiritual ministry. That it had a pronounced effect both in nourishing religious faith and in strengthening morality under conditions that put a heavy strain upon it, is beyond question. Moreover, in the general dearth of socializing influences, the work of the missionary in bringing people together in a common religious interest was one of the great

organizing factors in early American society. If our own day is marked by greater tasks and larger vision, it is only because we are building upon the strong foundations laid by these pioneers.

At first conceiving their task to be one of merely furnishing the ministry of preaching to distant settlers, the leaders in the churches awoke presently to the fuller meaning of what they had undertaken. Some few even foresaw that the future character of American life would be largely determined by what happened in the West. They felt that here a nation was in the making, and that it was in their power to undergird it with Christian ideals. As a far-seeing spokesman of this early home missionary enterprise put it:

"The strength of the nation lies beyond the Alleghenies. The center of dominion is fast moving in that direction. The ruler of this country is growing up in the great valley. Leave him without the gospel and he will be a ruffian giant who will regard neither the decencies of civilization nor the charities of religion. . . . It is impossible when we contemplate the republic or the world to overrate the importance of forming the rising character of our new States on the principles of the gospel." [6]

[6] From an address by Rev. J. Van Vechten, pastor of the Dutch Reformed Church, Schenectady, N. Y., published in the *Home Missionary Journal*, June, 1829; quoted in *The Frontier Spirit in American Christianity*, p. 32.

BUILDING THE AMERICAN CHURCH

But the romantic days of the frontier were passing. The railroad had come. Developed communities were springing up. The introduction of farm machinery was giving rise to settled farming on the prairies. By the time the first third of the century had passed, a new stage in the American missionary movement had begun.

The function of the missionary was no longer confined to supplying occasional preaching services as he moved hurriedly from place to place. There was now the call to help build the church as a permanent institution in the community life. As the pioneer was giving way to the farmer, so the itinerant on horseback began to give way, in large areas, to the resident pastor, drawing his support, in part at least, from the east, where religious institutions were already well established. By and by, as the new churches themselves grew stronger, many of them were able in their turn to contribute to the rise of the still newer churches in the still farther West.

Preceding the church often went the Sunday school. It could be carried on even when there was no pastor, and so was peculiarly suited to serve many of the new communities. An interesting portrait of one of these Sunday-school missionaries is given in the biography of John Adams, who had been headmaster of Phillips Academy, Andover, and in

his old age went out as a Sunday-school missionary into Illinois, traveling in his buggy from place to place, gathering the people into schoolhouses, and organizing Sunday schools that later grew into churches. By this method this one man, in the later years of his life, single-handed, developed no fewer than three hundred and twenty-two schools.[7]

Side by side with the church stood soon the academy and the college. The fostering of education under the auspices of the church was one of the great missionary enterprises of the new era. The founding of a colony in the Western Reserve is described in these words:

"As soon as a few new families had moved into the township, public worship was commenced. . . . A church was organized under the roof of the first log cabin. At the center of the township, where eight roads meet, was located the church building, fitly representing the central place occupied by the service of God in the life of the colony. Soon followed the schoolhouse and the public library, and there in the midst of the unconquered forest, only eight years after the first white settlement, the people, mindful of higher education and true to their New England antecedents, planted an academy." [8]

In the days before the high school had come into existence, these academies were often the main reliance of the people for their educational needs.

[7] See William Adams Brown, *The Church in America*, p. 41.
[8] Josiah Strong, *Our Country*, p. 196.

And the denominational colleges that came into being throughout the Middle West provided almost the entire higher education, at least until the period of the Civil War. In the face of many criticisms passed upon them in our day, simple justice compels the recognition of their unequaled value in raising up a trained leadership for a great part of the nation. Call the roll of the colleges in the Middle and farther West and you find that seldom can one be named that did not owe its beginning or its early development to the home missionary movement.

The significance of the geographical expansion of the church which took place during the nineteenth century would be difficult to exaggerate. With no state support such as the churches of the old world knew, the institutions of Christianity had been planted throughout the national domain almost as fast as the continent itself was settled. For the first time in history a great nation had made the experiment of a voluntarily supported church which could go nowhere except where the spirit of the people themselves should carry it. And it had not stopped till it reached the end of the transcontinental trail to the Pacific.

MINISTERING TO UNDER-PRIVILEGED GROUPS TODAY

Although the importance of the frontier had diminished, frontier conditions had by no means disappeared. They linger even today. The tourist crossing our Great Desert in a luxurious Pullman

may be disappointed at not seeing more evidences of pioneer life, but if he will leave the train he will not have far to travel before he discovers that the United States has something else to show than highly developed communities. There are eight great Western states with a combined population not larger than that of the city of New York. Within them are large areas inhabited on the average by only one family in a square mile. Visit the missionary at Monument, Oregon, seventy miles from a railroad, or ride in a Ford over the parish of six hundred square miles in the Big Basin in Montana, and you will have no doubt but that there is pioneering still to be done.[9] The notable film "The Covered Wagon" was shot on a ranch on the Utah-Nevada boundary, where the nearest Protestant church was eighty-five miles away.[10]

Moreover, the more recent course of history has pushed our geographical frontiers far out into either ocean. The sudden importance of Alaska after the discovery of gold in the Klondike brought it within the circle of a more urgent responsibility, and extended our home missionary enterprise to Point Barrow, the most northerly mission station in the world. After 1898, when the islands of Cuba and Porto Rico in one ocean and Hawaii in the other were added to our national domain, our home mis-

[9] See the pamphlet, "Pioneering on the Frontier," Presbyterian Board of National Missions, New York.

[10] Edward L. Mills, *The Advancing Church*, p. 122.

sionary area reached southward to the tropics. More recently still, Haiti and Santo Domingo, with grave problems of poverty, illiteracy, disease and social evils, became new links in the chain of islands to be helped.

Other stupendous developments in our national life created missionary tasks quite apart from those that were geographical. The churches were confronted everywhere with great groups in the population which were under-privileged. What was to be done by the Christian forces to equalize opportunity? From ten million Negroes only lately released from slavery came a cry for schools and colleges and the social and religious institutions of community life. The barriers between them and their white neighbors were often as high as any mountain range or deep as any river that the pioneers on the frontier ever had to cross. Immigrant peoples were pouring from southern and eastern Europe into the manufacturing and mining centers of our great cities, following the demand of American industry for cheap labor, until they constituted an eighth of our population. Generally these people lived in foreign-appearing communities of their own, separated from the earlier stocks by differences of language and custom, as isolated socially from the older strata of American life as the settler on the prairie was physically isolated from his fellows. Indians, Mexicans, Orientals, migrant workers, lumberjacks, mountaineers, and other distinctive groups

added to what was rapidly becoming an enormously complex missionary enterprise. The steady drift to the city, the decline of many agricultural communities, the lack of resources for social life, the inadequacy of struggling, ill-equipped churches to meet community needs, forced into consciousness the necessity of strengthening the religious foundations of the country. Home missions were no longer "out West"; they were east, south, north, everywhere. There was no part of the nation that was not truly a mission field.

AN AMERICAN ROMANCE

The narrative of the way in which the representatives of the church have ministered to these underprivileged peoples is one of the romances of modern America. Sheldon Jackson persuading the government to introduce reindeer into Alaska to improve economic conditions for the people he loved, is more than a chance picture in our national history. It is a sign of the manifold constructive services of the missionary among neglected groups. Frank Higgins tramping today among the colonies of forgotten lumberjacks in the Northwest, Archdeacon Stuck on a three-thousand-mile "mush" in an Arctic winter around the farthest edges of Alaska, suggest that the days of adventure are not all in the past. Bishop Hugh L. Burleson among the Indians of South Dakota is having the experience of discovering in them spiritual possibilities overlooked by those who have

been concerned only to crowd the red men into unpromising reservations, or to get hold of such areas as were subsequently found to hold rich resources of oil. Edmund B. Chaffee at the Labor Temple on the lower East Side in New York, in the heart of a foreign industrial population which commonly regards the church as too indifferent to social justice to merit respectful interest, knows how it feels to be a pioneer only a few minutes from Broadway.

As typical of the wide range of service to underprivileged groups, consider what the missionary movement has meant to a single one of them, the Negroes. The inspiring achievements of Hampton Institute and of Tuskegee are known throughout the world. Hardly a week passes that some foreign visitor does not come to study their methods and adapt them to his own land. It should be remembered that these two institutions are essentially parts of the Christian missionary movement in the wider sense of the term. Both owe their origin and their support to the missionary motive and ideal. Yet the fame of Hampton and Tuskegee should not be allowed to obscure the still earlier and more widespread work carried on directly by the churches themselves. Great educational institutions like Fisk University and Meharry Medical College, both in Nashville; Morehouse College, Gammon Theological Seminary, and Spelman Seminary for girls, all in Atlanta, have opened countless doors of opportunity to Negro youth. Enterprises like Stillman

Institute at Tuscaloosa, Alabama, which gives instruction in domestic science and religious work to colored women too old to go to school, and Bethlehem House in Nashville, which brings white and Negro leaders into cooperative service for the neediest of the colored race, illustrate the many-sided service being rendered by the missionary agencies to the rank and file of the Negro people.

In this beneficent work almost every communion has had an important part. Without danger of exaggeration, one can say that no influence in America has been even comparable with that of the churches in the rise of the Negro race to its present position of dignity and power. Even today it is estimated that upwards of three quarters of the facilities for efficient secondary education for Negroes in the South, to say nothing of colleges and universities, would disappear if the churches were to withdraw their support.

For an insight into the service of the missionary on behalf of another neglected group, make a visit to the Ganado Mission among the Navajo Indians in Arizona and New Mexico. This enterprise holds the key of opportunity for 35,000 red men, four fifths of whom do not speak our language. During a period of twenty-five years the missionaries have reduced a difficult language to writing, translated large parts of the Bible, organized churches, and carried on a ministry of education and community welfare for an untutored tribe in an almost desert

region. A few years ago, to get even water and fuel was a constant struggle. Today a system of wells furnishes water, a coal mine is being worked, children are in school, youth are being trained for industrial pursuits, a hospital cares for the sick, a community house provides wholesome social life, Christian evangelists are being educated. The plan aims to develop not just a few individuals who will rise above their old life and be dissatisfied to remain in their old homes, but to lift the level of opportunity for the tribe.

To the immigrant peoples likewise, who came at the rate of a million a year during the latter years of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth, the missionary proved an eager friend. In comparison with the hugeness of responsibility, the results achieved by Protestant missions among the immigrants may not have been impressive. Perhaps it should also be admitted that Protestantism does not always show the same respect for the native genius and distinctive culture of these groups in America that it ought to show, and that Roman Catholicism has shown. Still, our churches have made a great contribution. In foreign-speaking churches which our missionary movement has sustained, not only have religious influences been brought to people who had broken away from their moorings in their ancestral faith, but enlarged opportunities of every kind have been opened up.

Of hundreds of illustrations that could be given,

three must here suffice. At the Jan Hus Neighborhood House in New York, directed jointly for several years by a Czech pastor and a young American minister who had spent two years in Bohemia, learning the language and entering into the life of the Czechoslovak people, noteworthy success has been achieved in preserving the best in their national culture and joining with it the best that America has to give. In the Italian Church of the Ascension, also in New York, one can see today a foreign-speaking congregation worshiping in a beautiful church whose architecture expresses the Italian genius that these new Americans were accustomed to see revealed in their churches in the old world. Among the migrant fruit and cannery workers, denied the normal influences of home and community, the Council of Women for Home Missions is rendering a unique service. Ideals of Christian citizenship are instilled. Mothers are taught how to care for their children. Classes in sewing and handwork are provided. Boys and girls are taught how to play. Hot noonday lunches are provided. Some of the decencies and comforts and standards of worthy community life are made available to women whose roving existence is part of the price we pay for our convenient canned fruits and vegetables.

Less known but no less fraught with destiny for the nation is the story that could be told of rural communities remade through the stimulus of ideas and forces generated by the missionary spirit. If

you want to see the process at work most vividly, take a trip to the Southern highlands. Among these mountain people of sturdy Anglo-Saxon stock, virile and ruggedly independent, living isolated in well-nigh inaccessible regions and almost as forgotten as Rip Van Winkle, the missionary has come as the bearer of everything that means more abundant life. See what has happened in Wooton, Kentucky. When a community house was opened there by a missionary ten years ago, not a minister or a licensed physician was in the county. There was no railroad nor even an automobile highway nearer than twenty miles. The beds of creeks generously served as roads. The missionary, a young woman, set out to discover and develop the latent leadership by way of helping upbuild a community life. First of all, Sunday schools were started. Then funds were secured from the mission boards with which to supplement the slender resources of the town, so as to make possible trained teachers and a longer term in the public schools. A movement was launched to build a bridge and to improve the roads. A community nurse was secured and a clinic opened. Soon a little dispensary was built, for which the people donated all the rough materials and on which they did much of the labor with their own hands. All-day mothers' meetings were held at which women learned to be better home-makers. Most interesting of all, an "adult school" was started to provide something of an educational opportunity for those

who had never had it in their earlier years. One of the leading men of the town, after attending the first session, said to the missionary, "The only thing I have against you is that you did not come when I was a boy." [11]

In varying degree all over the nation the missionary movement is helping to make the rural church a life-giving force. It must be confessed that only the fringes of a vast problem have been touched. For two or three decades rural churches have been on the decline. Wasteful competition, pitifully meager programs of service, lack of resident pastors, partly account for these conditions. Of the twenty-six churches in one county in Tennessee, only eight have pastors and only three of these pastors reside in the communities where they preach. Twenty-two of the twenty-six have no Sunday schools. Nor is this an exceptional instance. In thousands of rural communities the churches are dying, in others are dead and abandoned, their congregations dwindled away. In Ohio a study of thirty-one counties showed two thirds of the churches standing still or retrograding. The growth of tenantry has added to the difficulty—thirty-eight per cent of the farms of the United States are now operated by tenants—for most of these landless men do not stay long enough in one place to become attached to the church. In Sedgwick County, Kansas, for example,

[11] See "Adult Education in Wooton," by Mary Rose McCord, in *Mountain Life and Work*, Jan., 1927, published by Berea College.

where a recent survey showed fifty-six per cent of the farmers to be tenants, only eighteen per cent of the church members came from this group.

In the face of such conditions it is not surprising that the missionary forces have made slow progress, but at least they now see the gravity of the problem. Surveys have been made which disclose the startling facts.[12] Demonstration centers have been established to show what the rural church can mean to a community when it undertakes a program of constructive service. Hundreds of rural districts can be pointed out today where the church has become the center of inspiration for the whole community life. Better worship, better religious education, more wholesome social life, better schools, better recreation, better agriculture, a new cooperative spirit, have all been products of the movement for a better rural church.

All this is but a fraction of the story of the way in which the frontiersmen of the church have followed later trails than those which once led across the continent to the West alone. They have brought new opportunities of every kind to neglected peoples whom no nation desiring to be regarded as Christian can overlook.

UNOCCUPIED FIELDS TODAY

Side by side with these developments in the missionary field another change was taking place, a

[12] See especially the invaluable studies of the Institute of Social and Religious Research, New York.

change not so much in the outer environment as in the inner life of the church and its conception of its task. The church had long been interested in redeeming individuals; now it was coming to be interested in redeeming the social order itself. To develop just and brotherly relations among men in all their living, on the foundation of Jesus' view of the divine purpose for humanity, was becoming the conscious goal, not merely the indirect result, of Christian effort. A fuller discovery was being made of the meaning of the Kingdom of God on the earth. There was a vision not alone of saving souls from the evil of the world, but of refashioning the world anew. A conviction that society could really be permeated throughout by Jesus' spirit of love was taking hold of the mind of the church.

This social awakening meant an immense expansion of the home missionary task. As has been said, its central interest was no longer limited to providing a service to individuals on the frontier, though the frontier had still to be served. Nor was it confined to supporting churches unable to support themselves, although this certainly had still to be done. Even if there were self-supporting churches in every community of the nation, the home missionary enterprise, in the new view of it, would be only begun. The ministry to under-privileged groups, though this was an immediate task of the most insistent character, no longer exhausted the missionary aim. The old functions still remained,

but they took on enhanced significance in the far more comprehensive and challenging goal of building a truly Christian social order in America.

In this expanding conception home missions are too vast an enterprise to be the work of boards or agencies alone. Home missions mean essentially the whole church at work at its task of redeeming the nation. The missionary movement is far broader than the projects which bear a missionary label. Nor are missions any longer merely a matter of getting the stronger churches to help the weaker; they are an undertaking to bring the entire church to a new conscience and a new sense of responsibility in matters of social justice and social right and wrong. The task is quite as much one of reconverting the prosperous and comfortable as of helping the poor and outcast. The churches of Fifth Avenue, of Pasadena, or of Hyde Park, may be the very ones that stand most in need of this work. We used to think of the church on the Bowery as a mission church; now we think of the cathedral on the heights as in the same category.

The conception of what constitutes success in missionary work has also been undergoing a change. No longer can achievement be measured simply in terms of growth in membership, Sunday-school enrolment and financial competence. Highly important these still are as means to an end, but the new test of success is what is happening in the community, not simply what is happening in the church.

The supreme test is the extent to which community life in all its aspects is becoming responsive to the ideals of Christ.

To suppose that the interest of the American churches in the basic problems of our social life is of recent origin would of course be an extreme error. From the earliest days of dealing with the frontier, great social gains have accrued from the work of the missionary. Yet in the main these social advances were not so much deliberate objectives as by-products of the movement. Not until the latter part of the nineteenth century were missionary leaders in general thinking in terms of the structure of our community and national life. Nor was this strange. It was to be expected that the churches would have to await the development of modern social science in order to see the greatly enlarged social realms into which they must enter.

The founding of the Young Men's and the Young Women's Christian Associations about the middle of the last century was due in no small measure to a concern for the unsatisfactory conditions in which many young men and women had to live. The two associations' fourfold program of physical, intellectual, social and religious nurture anticipated the new social emphasis. Both associations were expressions of missionary Christianity. The so-called institutional churches, offering a ministry every day in the week to the thronging populations of the great cities, came a little later, and likewise testified

to the conviction that the church must concern itself with all the needs of the people.

The churches, moreover, had been engaging in more than one moral crusade. For example, while their attitude on the slavery issue was one of mingled light and shadow, it is a fact of history that the leaders in many churches were flaming advocates of abolition. It has even been said, perhaps with some exaggeration, that there was a period when "every Methodist preacher was regarded as an abolition agent." The Society of Friends stood in the vanguard of the anti-slavery movement. As early as 1776 it excluded from its membership all who would not emancipate their slaves. The temperance crusade from the outset reveals Christian forces coming to grips with an intrenched social evil. The agitation which culminated in the prohibition of the liquor traffic drew its strength from the churches, and was essentially a part of the home missionary movement in its wider sense.

All this and much more at last came to full flower in the view of the church as existing to mold all social relationships according to the mind of Christ.

ADVENTURING FOR INDUSTRIAL JUSTICE

In the late eighties this new social emphasis received a fresh impetus. A few men stand out as pioneers in the church's new adventure: Washington Gladden, Josiah Strong, Richard T. Ely, and, a few years later, Walter Rauschenbusch. These

were evangelists of the social duty of the Christian church. But for years, like the pioneers in other fields, they were lonely. In 1892 a great labor leader declared, "You can count on the ends of your fingers all the clergymen who take any interest in the labor problem." Mr. W. D. P. Bliss replied by naming as many as sixty-two of his own acquaintance, but it was not a very triumphant rejoinder, for Mr. Bliss had extensive contacts with the Christian social movements of that day. By 1893, however, the Congregational and Baptist bodies were carrying on an educational program for social justice. In 1901 the Protestant Episcopal Church appointed a standing commission on the church and labor. In 1903 the Presbyterians established and for a time maintained a department of church and labor, under the direction of Charles Stelzle, who was himself a full-fledged member of a labor union. In 1908 the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church adopted a statement of social ideals which defined some of the social objectives it believed the churches should seek.

At the creation of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America in 1908 these movements toward larger dealing with the problems of social justice and brotherhood came to a head interdenominationally in the adoption of "The Social Ideals of the Churches." This document became something of a classic. It declares in part, as subsequently revised, that the churches must stand:

"For equal rights and justice for all men in all stations of life;

"For the abatement and prevention of poverty;

"For the abolition of child labor;

"For the protection of the individual and society from the social, economic and moral waste of the liquor traffic;

"For release from employment one day in seven;

"For a living wage as a minimum in every industry, and for the highest wage that each industry can afford;

"For a new emphasis upon the application of Christian principles to the acquisition and use of property, and for the most equitable division of the products of industry that can ultimately be devised;

"For the rights of employees and employers alike to organize; and for adequate means of conciliation and arbitration in industrial disputes."

Today there is hardly a major body of American Christians that does not have a social service commission or other agency designed to educate the rank and file of church members in these attitudes and to give them practical effect. That the churches generally, however, are doing all they should to advance the new ideals would be too much to claim. Too often these fine resolutions are left to gather dust in ecclesiastical archives. Indeed, voices are not lacking that try to call the church back to a narrower view. There are some who claim that the church has no business to be concerned with

questions like these, that its only interest is the individual's attitude toward God. But while rightly urging that everything at last stands or falls with winning the individual to Christian discipleship, these persons forget that if the church gives no attention to the conditions under which men have to live, it will be leaving its members uneducated in the practical meaning of Christian discipleship for some of the most important phases of common life.

Other persons admit the need for the church to deal with social relations, but would have it confine itself to general principles and refrain from touching concrete problems. These persons fail to see that men really come to a belief in general principles only through their experience in concrete situations. They fail to see that unless the church gives guidance in specific problems, the individual will usually not go beyond the most obvious applications of Christian principles and discover what is required in more complex circumstances. A man may be high-minded in his family circle, and yet, as a director of an impersonal corporation, not hesitate to enrich himself from the labor of little children. He may be generous in a community chest campaign, and yet go on assuming that the economic machinery of the world must be operated wholly on the financial profit motive. He may make a point of being kind to his next-door neighbor, and at the same time be callous to the mass cruelty of war. We do well to remember that John Newton, the

writer of hymns of intense evangelical devotion, engaged in the slave-trade without a qualm of conscience, and that it was on the deck of a slave-ship of which he was captain that he penned the lines:

> Amazing grace! How sweet the sound
> That saved a wretch like me!
> I once was lost, but now am found,
> Was blind, but now I see.

When one considers the missionary enterprise in America from this angle, certain tasks stand out that were not so clear before. Think, for example, of the millions of persons engaged in industry. The church has long been interested in providing them with religious services, but now it is not simply chapels for them but industrial justice which must be secured. The church must understand modern economic and industrial conditions well enough to be able to stimulate men to make the Christian ideal of good will operative in the world of work.[13] It must intelligently appreciate the spiritual significance of the struggle of the great mass of men for a better standard of living, and for a vital share in determining the conditions of their toil. A surveyor for one of the home missionary societies who went into the logging camps of the Northwest a few years ago to discover the attitude of the loggers

[13] The Research Department of the Federal Council of Churches was established for the purpose of furnishing much-needed information as to economic and social facts.

to the church, had such sharp-pointed questions as these hurled at him:

"What program do preachers have of promoting acquaintance with and interest in the industrial question in their community?

"What action have the denominations taken in a cooperative or effective way to secure justice in the distribution of the results of common toil?

"Has not the attitude of the church toward the democratic control of industry been that of indifference?"

The basic reason why the church cannot ignore these questions is that they have to do with the practical truth of the very gospel the church tries to proclaim. The preaching of Christ's way of love and service on Sunday will sound like a hollow echo unless it is practised on Monday in the factory, the shop and the mine. Unless brotherhood is a reality in the place where men spend the majority of their waking hours, it will eventually not be much of a reality anywhere, even in the church. How true this is can be discovered by studying what happens to the churches of a community when, for example, a strike takes place. Take such a conflict as the one on the Western Maryland Railway, which at the time of this writing occupied the whole horizon of the towns of Cumberland and Hagerstown. The financial support of the churches was soon crippled by the long period of idleness of a large section of each community. Tension and ill will invaded

the churches themselves. Pastoral ministrations in some cases had almost to be discontinued, lest the minister be put in a position of championing one side or the other. Under such conditions it is not surprising that pastors and laymen appealed to national agencies of the churches for a study of the situation, with a view to trying to discover ways of preventing such disruptions of community life in the future.[14]

It is the failure of the church to understand the complex problems of modern economic and industrial life that has led many socially minded men to seek to realize their good ends apart from the church. It is this which keeps many a church content to walk in paths already well blazed, to devote itself to dispensing charity rather than to securing justice, to relieving need rather than to removing the causes that make relief necessary. The church has fed the hungry; it needs to strike at the conditions that cause hunger. It has established missions for the down-and-out; it needs to grapple with the problems of casual labor and unemployment that replenish the ranks of the down-and-out faster than the church can rescue them.

To face the issues of our economic life unflinch-

[14] The study was made jointly by the Federal Council of the Churches, the National Catholic Welfare Conference, and the Central Conference of American Rabbis—a remarkable example of religious cooperation, and additionally remarkable as a sign of the validity now attached to the church's concern with economic problems.

ingly requires adventurous courage of a high order. One trembles lest the church should not have it. The newspapers reported the efforts made recently by certain shortsighted commercial interests in one of our great cities to prevent the churches from inviting into their pulpits representatives of organized labor to discuss the moral and spiritual significance of the labor movement. This case clearly indicates that a church which is to count for anything vital in bringing about a more Christian industrial life will have to be prepared to be misunderstood, perhaps to lose no little financial support. But might not this be another evidence that by being ready to lose its life the church would really save it? To be deprived of millions of dollars would be less serious than to be deprived of the confidence of great masses of workers struggling for a better standard of life. A hundred million dollars would build many new churches and send out hosts of new missionaries; but if secured at the cost of a lack of sympathy with those who need to be understood, the Kingdom of God would be betrayed rather than advanced.

ADVENTURING FOR INTERRACIAL JUSTICE

One final illustration of the enlargement of the home mission outlook must suffice—our new attitude toward other races. We have become aware that the Christian duty toward the Negro or the Oriental is more than to provide churches and schools. How about the whole question of justice

and brotherhood and fellowship? How about the inveterate race prejudice that shuts black men and yellow men out from anything like fair opportunities of earning a living, of securing decent social conditions, of exercising full privileges of citizenship? How about assumptions of superiority that brand them as inferior beings and make our service to them smack of patronizing charity? The missionary problem is not simply one of changing the Negro or the Oriental; it is a problem of changing our own attitude toward him. The final issue is that of becoming truly Christian ourselves.

Thus there has come about a redirection of the missionary enterprise in relation to other racial groups. Instead of working for them we have begun to work with them. Our conscious aim with the Negro is to release his own latent capacities, to encourage a greater self-respect, to develop new faith in the contribution he has to make to American culture, and to create a social atmosphere in which he can make the contribution. This enlarged missionary spirit, moving out into far-stretching horizons of mutuality and democracy, is finding expression in such work as that of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, made up of prominent Southern leaders, black and white, and of the Commission on the Church and Race Relations organized by the Federal Council of Churches. Instead of standing apart from each other, ignorant of the best things in each other's lives and unaware of

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great common interests as citizens of the same nation and disciples of the same Lord, these two racial groups are beginning to meet in sympathetic understanding and to labor together at common tasks.

This new fellowship was dramatically pictured at the meeting of the Federal Council of Churches in Indianapolis in 1922. Sitting as representatives respectively of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and the African Methodist Episcopal Church, were Dr. Wilbur F. Tillett, venerable dean of the Vanderbilt Theological School, and Dr. S. G. Atkins, principal of the Slater State Normal School at Winston-Salem, North Carolina. Asking for the privilege of the floor, Dean Tillett remarked that one of his earliest memories was that of playing with a Negro lad, the son of his father's slave. "And now," added Dean Tillett, "today that Negro boy and I are fellow-members of the same body, working together to make a more Christian America." Calling Dr. Atkins to his side, Dean Tillett extended his hand and with deep feeling repeated John Wesley's great words, "If thy heart be as my heart, give me thy hand."

ADVENTURING TOWARD UNITY

The achievement of the great missionary goal of Christianizing the life of the nation has in every period of its history been hampered by lack of unity among Christian forces. At the outset the denominational divisions of the old world were, naturally

enough, carried over to American soil. Many new denominations also arose, like the Disciples and the United Brethren. Many divisions took place within the older bodies. Conditions during the earlier part of American history were especially favorable to this development. Freed from the age-long traditions of Europe, transplanted to an atmosphere of fresh experiment, it is not surprising that the tendency to magnify different points of view was strong among the American Christians. The conflict over slavery during the middle decades of the nineteenth century saw the further disruption, on geographical lines, of three communions, the Baptist, the Methodist and the Presbyterian.

Altogether the strongest influence against this tendency toward divisiveness has been the sense of missionary responsibility. Confronted by the task of carrying the gospel to the vast new areas of the West, the churches early felt the necessity for some plan of concerted effort. The most that any single denomination could do was pitifully inadequate. Various experiments in cooperation arose, some of a highly prophetic character. At the very threshold of the century the Presbyterians and the Congregationalists worked out a "plan of union" for a united approach to the missionary task in the Western Reserve. It provided that a Presbyterian pastor might minister to a Congregational church or vice versa, and that congregations composed partly of Presbyterians and partly of Congregationalists

might unite under one pastor. Under this cooperative arrangement, which lasted until frontier conditions began to pass away and denominational consciousness reasserted itself, many of the churches in what is now western New York, Ohio, Illinois, and Michigan were formed.

Some of the early missionary societies, moreover, were interdenominational. Great undenominational organizations for special tasks also took their rise from the same pressure of missionary duty, notably the American Bible Society, the American Sunday-School Union and the American Tract Society, all in the decade between 1815 and 1825.

At the same time it cannot be denied that other influences in the program of church extension worked strongly in the opposite direction. The earlier program of cooperation weakened, for a time almost vanished, in the rivalry of denominations to propagate themselves. Each denomination pressed into the new communities regardless of what other denominations were doing. Each acted often as if its own increase were identical with building the Kingdom of God. Many a community was crowded with more churches than were good for it, while other communities were entirely overlooked. A shockingly wasteful and inefficient distribution of Christian forces ensued. Worse still, the church, instead of being a uniting influence in the community, too often became actually a separating influence. Competing congregations broke up the community life instead

of binding all parts of it together in a common spirit of religious aspiration and moral endeavor.

To the more thoughtful leaders such a program of every denomination for itself began to appear indefensible. Cooperation was manifestly the only sane method of advance. To go on in unrelated and even competitive efforts was too suggestive of the story of the superintendent of an asylum for the insane who was asked, "Are you not afraid that hundreds of these people might rise up and overwhelm you?" "Oh, no," he replied, "there is no danger of that. Insane people never cooperate."

The consciousness of the handicap which the churches faced from over-emphasis on denominationalism led, during the latter half of the nineteenth century, to many new experiments in organized cooperation. The rise of the Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations in the 'fifties was an attempt to minister to the needs of young people on a community basis. The Women's Christian Temperance Union proved that members of all denominations could work together in an urgent concrete cause. The Evangelical Alliance, coming from England to America in 1867, had as its purpose the bringing of Christians of separated bodies into closer fellowship and united efforts. To express the common interests of young people regardless of denominational lines, the Christian Endeavor Society came into being in 1881.

All these and other movements paved the way

for the association not simply of individuals from various churches, but of the churches themselves in common tasks. One outcome was the creation in 1908 of a federal union of twenty-eight communions known as the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. While concerned with all the normal interests of the churches, it has given special attention to those complex areas of human relationships—industry, race, social welfare, international relations—which are today so inextricably interwoven with the missionary task. Local councils of churches, directly representing the churches in their communities and serving as centers of united activity for them, likewise began to develop, until today few of the larger cities are without such needed cooperative instrumentalities.

In 1908 also the general home mission agencies came together in the Home Missions Council, in order to deal with missionary programs on a basis of systematic conference and cooperative planning. That same year the Council of Women for Home Missions, similarly representing the women's boards, came into being.[15] The cooperative programs which the churches now carry on through these agencies are of high significance. At Ellis Island, to take a single illustration, incoming immigrants are welcomed by the joint representative of the missionary

[15] By a joint agreement reached early in 1927, the Home Missions Council, the Council of Women for Home Missions, and the Federal Council of the Churches have entered into a close working relationship.

boards, and, so far as possible, information concerning those immigrants who come out of a Protestant background is sent to some minister of a corresponding church in the community to which the stranger is going.

To realize what can be done by cooperative action in the better occupation of missionary fields, look at Montana. By an agreement among the mission boards, the entire unchurched area of the state has recently been divided into non-competitive spheres of work, and each district has been allocated to the exclusive responsibility of a single communion. Or, for example of a still more far-reaching movement, turn to Santo Domingo. Into this new field the churches, through the Committee on Cooperation in Latin America, are entering as a united force. Those mission boards which desired to share in this task, instead of going to the field as competitors or dividing up the territory among them, have established a joint agency with a single comprehensive program and a single budget.

To understand the true inwardness of these cooperative organizations one must not think of them simply as useful pieces of machinery. They are this, but they are also vastly more. They are the natural and spontaneous expression of the enlarged conception of the missionary task that has been developing during the century. It is recorded of an English prime minister that on one occasion when he

was trying to get his fellow-countrymen to think of British statesmanship in more than provincial terms, he addressed them in the words, "Gentlemen, you must study larger maps." It has been the study of larger maps of the church's function that has brought about the new trend toward unity. If the objective of the church be only to save individuals for a future world, isolated denominationalism might suffice; one denomination could achieve the goal as well as another. If its task be exhausted in terms of providing a ministry of worship for individuals, cooperation might not be regarded as a logical need; one group might get its inspiration from the Anglican ritual, another from a Methodist prayer-meeting, another from the Quaker silence. But when the ideal of remaking the whole body of community life into one piece with the Kingdom of God on earth is envisaged for the church, a cooperative approach to the community becomes indispensable and prerequisite. For the Kingdom of God in its very essence implies cooperation, brotherhood, fellowship. And how can the churches hope to win the people of a community to that ideal if they do not themselves, in their relations to one another, exemplify it?

How can a divided church ever secure a united community? The churches, for example, try to develop cooperation in industry; but we hear both capital and labor saying, "Physician, heal thyself."

The churches seek to cultivate brotherhood among the diverse racial groups of the community; but what will the message amount to unless the churches that preach it know how to practise it? Only a cooperative method can ever build such a cooperative society as Jesus taught the Kingdom of God to be.

CHAPTER V

A WORLD ADVENTURE

"NOTHING is so powerful," Victor Hugo reminds us, "as an idea whose time has come." And at the dawn of the nineteenth century the time had fully come for a truer appreciation of the foreign missionary idea. Alike in the church and in the world at large, conditions were ripening for an expansion of Christianity such as had not been known since the days of the Apostle Paul. For the act of coming to grips with a globe-encircling task the churches of America and Europe were at last prepared.

What were the factors which had thus set the stage for a fresh scene of Christian history?

In the first place, a new world, geographically, was now present in the consciousness of men. The unprecedented era of exploration and conquest, of emigration to distant colonies, of a marvelous extension of trade, had destroyed forever the narrow world of the past. The control of the earth by the white race, so conspicuously a feature of our own day, was well advanced, and with it was tardily emerging some sense of responsibility for subject peoples. No longer was it the Latin races of southern Europe but the Protestant nations of the north, especially Great Britain, which were in the ascend-

ancy. External conditions were right for a vast enlargement of the horizon of Christian effort. That William Carey's missionary ardor was stirred by his reading of the voyages of the famous Captain Cook in the islands of the Pacific in the latter part of the eighteenth century was more than an accidental happening. It was a symbol of the way in which the physical enlargement of the world in which men lived was refashioning their outlook on life.

Coincident with this expansion of the environment had proceeded, in the second place, a transformation of religious thought and life. Of the evangelical revival mighty impulses had been born which furnished the spiritual dynamic for more adventurous undertakings. The complacency and self-satisfaction of the church had been broken up. In this conjunction of external events and inner spirit we see a repetition of what had happened in the early days of Christianity. Just as the Roman Empire, with its orderly government, its good roads, its common language and its widespread domain, had provided a medium in which the religious passion and flaming zeal of Paul and his successors found expression, so now the outward and the inward forces again combined to usher in a new age.

A third creative element in the situation was a new birth of humanitarian impulses. Human brotherhood was in the air, manifesting itself in divers ways. On the political side it had underlain the cataclysm of the French Revolution, with the

insistence on the rights of man as man. In Great Britain it animated the struggle for humane laws to overcome the exploitation of men, women and children in the race for profit as it was stimulated by the invention of the machine and the modern factory system. This humanitarian idealism was likewise the motivation of the fight to ameliorate the treatment of prisoners and to abolish the slave trade. But if the rights and dignity of men of whatever class were to be asserted at home, must they not be championed also in behalf of men in other lands? [1]

Sadly true it is that the philanthropic movement and the Christian missionary enterprise often in these days misunderstood each other. Lord Shaftesbury complained that he got as much help for social reform from men of the world as he did from evangelicals. Generous idealists accused the missionaries of ignoring problems of social life here and now upon the earth, in the desire to get men into some distant heaven. The missionary, on the other hand, sometimes charged the prophets of social reform with superficiality, and declared that they failed to see that the ultimate sources of a better life lay in the man himself and in his laying hold of divine resources rather than in his environment.

Still, the two movements, even when they could not realize it, had a common basis in their common love of mankind. They were both working toward

[1] See *The Spread of Christianity in the Modern World*, pp. 19-20, 41-46; also *Missions, Their Rise and Development*, pp. 66-76.

the end of building a truly Christian society, and in time became more conscious of their close connection. What satisfaction it should be to us today, with our clearer vision of the significance of the gospel for redeeming all of human life, that it was Wilberforce, the same man who contended so valiantly for the freedom of the slave, who also secured an enactment of the British Parliament in 1813 that missionaries should be allowed to go to India without hindrance from the British East India Company.

SPIRITUAL ADVENTURE IN A NEW WORLD

Now, "in the fulness of time," William Carey was born. While Carey is only one of a goodly company of great-souled men who laid the permanent foundations of modern missions, and was himself preceded by German and Danish pioneers, he so incarnated in his own person the new missionary passion and program that it will be more worth our while to become well acquainted with this one pathbreaker of the centuries than to attempt mention of a larger number.

The spirit of the age lived in Carey. Working as a humble cobbler at his bench, he avidly read all the books of travel and exploration on which he could lay his hands. Even as a boy he had been nicknamed Columbus, an unconscious prophecy of the new spiritual continent he was to explore. Before his bench hung a map of the world; near by stood a leather globe made with his own hands.

New language after new language he eagerly learned, as he sat at his bench or trudged over the hills delivering shoes, in order that he might better understand other peoples. Nearly a century and a half ago he was a prophetic embodiment of Bishop McDowell's great saying that we "must study geography until there is for us no foreign land, study humanity until there is for us no foreign man."

Within Carey was a depth of religious insight that equaled the breadth of the new world in which he lived. His famous motto, "Attempt great things for God; expect great things from God," was a measure of his robust and athletic faith. When, as a young preacher of only twenty-five, he asked the audacious question whether the command to go and preach the gospel to all nations was not binding on us, he was promptly reprimanded by a conservative chairman whose descendants have not even yet wholly disappeared from our churches. "Sit down, young man," the presiding officer said, "when it pleases God to convert the heathen, he will do it without your help or mine." Nothing daunted, Carey went back to his studies for six years, and then, by a missionary appeal, so moved a group of ministers that twelve of them united in forming a Baptist Missionary Society. Twelve months later, in 1793, Carey was in India.

Stoutly opposed by the British East India Company, this British subject was not permitted to settle

under the British flag. The Company almost exhausted the dictionary in describing the folly of missions. It declared "the sending out of missionaries into our Eastern possessions to be the maddest, most extravagant, most costly, most indefensible project which has ever been suggested by a moonstruck fanatic. Such a scheme is pernicious, imprudent, useless, harmful, dangerous, profitless, fantastic. It strikes against all reason and sound policy, it brings the peace and safety of our possessions into peril." [2] The Danes, however, apparently less fearful of what Christian missions might do to trade and politics, allowed Carey to take up residence in their settlement at Serampore.

Having only infinitesimal resources on which to draw from England, and being convinced in any case that a missionary should be able to sustain himself by his own labor, Carey became superintendent of an indigo factory. All the while he was learning Bengali and Sanskrit. When the East India Company not long afterwards started a college for its young employees, it had to turn to the "moonstruck fanatic" for its teacher of Bengali, Marathi and Sanskrit. Soon Carey and his associates developed a printing press, the income of which was the chief support of his missions. From it he sent out twenty-eight translations which he had made, either alone or with others, of the New Testament into Indian tongues, and six translations of the entire Bible.

[2] Quoted in *Missions, Their Rise and Development,* p. 58.

From the same source came the first newspaper ever printed in an oriental language. He also devised new methods of manufacturing paper, and set up the first steam-engine used in India.

The number of native schools founded by his little company numbered well over a hundred, in all of which he used the vernacular. He established also a college where English and Western science, as well as the native literature, were taught. With an insight characteristic of the most advanced leadership of our own day, he concentrated much of his attention on the training of native evangelists.

In the development of better agriculture he took a far-sighted interest. He organized the Agricultural and Horticultural Society in India years before there was a similar society even in Great Britain. In the importance of medical service he had so much confidence that he joined hands with the surgeon, John Thomas, the earliest medical missionary in India. Into urgent social reforms, like the care of lepers and the abolition of suttee, the practice by which widows burned themselves on the funeral pyres of their husbands, he threw himself with ardor.

And yet people sometimes think that the life of the early missionary was narrow and circumscribed. The fact is that along with his passion for the saving of individuals Carey was engaged in a work of redeeming the whole of Indian society. No doubt his initial impulse was associated with a feeling of pity for the millions who, he believed, were passing into

an eternity of punishment. No doubt he was not always clearly conscious of a commanding social goal. But no one who studies the life of this pioneer can fail to see that he was making the most momentous of contributions to the building of a new and better India.

Within twenty years after Carey had settled in Calcutta, the first American missionaries, Gordon Hall and Samuel Nott, had arrived in India, and Adoniram Judson was in Burma. Before Carey died, the first great missionary of the Scottish church, Alexander Duff, had arrived, in 1830, to catch the falling mantle from the shoulders of his English forerunner. Possessed with a conviction that only through education could deep changes be made in Indian character and life, he formulated the policy of providing higher education through the medium of the English tongue, a policy which was taken over by the British government in its educational plan for India.

THE CHRISTIAN OCCUPATION OF THE CONTINENTS

Meanwhile the expanding spirit of Christianity had reached out to other shores. In 1807 Robert Morrison was in China, where after more than a quarter of a century of unremitting labor he could count on his fingers all the baptized Christians who were a visible result of his life-work. How he must have echoed the famous words of Xavier the Jesuit

almost three centuries earlier, who, dying off the coast of China, had exclaimed, "O rock, rock, wilt thou never break?" One thing, however, Morrison had done that was to live on after he was gone—he had made the first translation of the Bible into Chinese. "By this," he said, "when dead I shall yet speak." In the same year that Morrison died, Peter Parker, American physician, arrived. Within a few months the marvelous cures at his hospital in Canton had gone far to break down "the frowning wall of Chinese prejudice and restrictive policy." As Dr. Parker used to say, he was "opening China at the point of the lancet."

In 1818 Robert Moffat had lighted a candle that was sending gleams into the interior darkness of Africa, and he was soon followed by the man whose life is an epitome of the Christian spirit in the dark continent, David Livingstone. The history of the world contains few more thrilling stories than that of Livingstone's journey of 11,000 miles on foot through a jungle never trod before by civilized man. But it is the record of an overpowering Christian impulse even more than of adventure and discovery. "I view the geographical exploration," Livingstone declared, "as the beginning of the missionary enterprise. I include in the latter term everything in the way of effort for the amelioration of our race."

As a result, Livingstone's work, forever associated with the movement to abolish the abysmal slave trade, touched deeply both the life of Africa

and the conscience of the world. In his death this humble missionary received the homage of mankind as kings and princes have seldom received it. His heart buried in the soil of Africa, his body was carried fifteen hundred miles to the coast on the shoulders of the faithful Africans, Susi and Chuma, in a funeral march that consumed a year, to be entombed in Westminster Abbey. Over it was inscribed a stately epitaph concluding with his dying words about the slave trade: "All I can say in my loneliness is, may Heaven's rich blessing come down on every one—American, English, Turk—who will help to heal this open sore of the world."

As early as 1820 American Christians had begun their efforts among the Moslems in the Near East, efforts which even today can show only slight numerical results. Since an even earlier day when the young Englishman, Henry Martyn, on beginning his work for India and Persia, had cried: "Now let me burn out for God!"—and had died in 1812 at the age of thirty-one—the missionaries among the Moslems, though characterized by an indomitable spirit, have been confronted by a more rigid resistance than anywhere else in the world. Recognizing that the time had not yet come when a direct evangelistic appeal would be listened to in Turkey, the American missions undertook to lay broad foundations for it through education, through medicine, and through the press. Belief prevailed that the leavening influences of such a ministry on Mos-

lem civilization would eventually break down existing hostility. Reinforcing this policy was the fact that the Christian churches of the Eastern orthodox group needed just such practical help as a program of education and social service would provide. With more wisdom than some of their successors, the early Protestant missionaries saw these ancient churches not as needing to be supplanted, but as needing to be inwardly renewed in a way which would help them to realize their potentialities. Though encrusted with rigid orthodoxy and ceremonialism, these venerable bodies were seen to hold the possibility of themselves becoming a great missionary influence among the Moslems by whom they were despised and persecuted. As things turned out, the Armenian church, although welcoming such friendly help at first, later became suspicious of it, and it is only today that any large program of cooperation has seemed possible.[3]

Perhaps no part of the globe has been the scene of more rapid transformations of savage peoples under the influence of dauntless Christian missions than the islands of the southern Pacific. The Hervey Islands were placed upon the map in 1823 by John Williams, a British missionary, the first white man known to have set foot thereon. The foundations not only of the Christian church but of the ordered life of many of the Polynesian Is-

[3] The beneficent service of the Near East Relief has been a most important factor in bringing this better situation about.

lands were the outcome of his work. In his famous ship, "The Messenger of Peace," built with his own hands, he went also to the Samoan Islands, and in a few short years saw their inhabitants develop from primitive barbarians into a civilized people. Pressing on later to one of the New Hebrides, this intrepid hero was eaten by cannibals. His spirit was born again in John Coleridge Patteson, who also met a martyr's fate, in John G. Paton, and in others, who achieved what can only be described as redemptive miracles, soon, however, to be largely undone by the evils which these primitive peoples suffered from contacts with the worst side of Western civilization.

When in 1858 the island empire of Japan, which for two hundred years had cherished a self-imposed isolation, at last signed a treaty permitting foreigners to reside in Japanese ports, it was only four months before seven missionaries from America were at home in the new land. Down to 1872 the Christian religion was viewed with hostility, along with other things Western, but the early missionaries threw themselves so generously into every movement making for the new Japan that they gradually won a place of confidence. Their spirit is revealed in Guido Verbeck. Did ever a representative of Christ have more forceful influence in molding a nation and in making the influence of Christ felt in every phase of its life? Verbeck was the most trusted counselor to the government in framing its new

educational system, which was the marvel of Asia. He recommended the sending of Japanese students to America and Europe. He even assisted in framing a new constitution for the Empire, all the while carrying on his Christian teaching and helping to translate the Bible.

Unfamiliar with the currents flowing through the life of our Southern neighbors below the Rio Grande, it is not surprising that the churches of America gave little attention to Latin America until well after the middle of the nineteenth century. As one writer pungently remarks, "Latin America was discovered by Columbus in the fifteenth century; it was rediscovered by North Americans in the twentieth century." Moreover, Latin America was nominally Christian, a stronghold of Roman Catholicism; hence there was a natural hesitation in regarding it as an appropriate field for missionary effort. But the prevalent Christianity officially recognized by the state had but slight relation to moral conduct and the concrete problems of modern life, and commanded scanty respect. Educated Latin Americans were losing faith in all religion. Christianity seemed to them only a part of the old world which, like the rule of Spain, the new day could well afford to leave behind.

That the experience of finding the evangelical churches by its side would be a valuable stimulus to the Roman Church became clear. The development of the evangelical church in Latin America during

subsequent decades has not been spectacular, but indisputably fresh spiritual energies have been released. Moral enthusiasm is reviving and there is a growing recognition of the emptiness of a materialistic philosophy of life.

Without following further the careers of individual missionaries or even the course of Christian history in the various countries, we must attempt to summarize certain outstanding developments and achievements of the nineteenth century. In doing so we shall be dealing with the combined influence of the great body of workers who followed in the trail of these explorers for the Kingdom of God.

THE CHANGING ATTITUDE OF THE CHURCH

At the beginning of the nineteenth century missions were the concern of only a handful of Christians. The prophetic spirits who then saw a "Kingdom without frontiers" and seriously proposed to enter it, were looked upon as fantastic visionaries. As late as 1796 it was proposed and seconded at the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland that "to spread abroad the knowledge of the gospel amongst barbarous and heathen nations seems to be highly preposterous." [4] Today nothing is regarded as a more vital and integral work of the church as a whole than foreign missions.

A hundred years ago one who would become a foreign missionary had to find his own means for

[4] Quoted in *Missions, Their Rise and Development*, p. 61.

the undertaking. The first missionary societies were not organized or directly supported by the churches, but by little groups of individuals. The society which came into being to further Carey's work started with the munificent resources of less than fourteen pounds. Today the churches of America alone have contributed forty millions of dollars in a single year for foreign missions.[5]

In America it was three students who, as a result of a prayer-meeting beside a haystack in Williamstown in 1806, resolved to form a society "to effect in the person of its members a mission to the heathen," and thereby led to the creation of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. At first a voluntary association of individuals, this and other American societies came later to be the official charge of the churches themselves. Poorly supported as the missionary movement still is, it is today accepted, in theory at least, as a great responsibility. More than ten thousand missionaries from the Protestant churches of the United States alone are now at work in foreign lands. The total from all countries is approximately 28,000. The church is well on the way to being converted to the missionary enterprise.

[5] *World Missionary Atlas*, published by the Institute of Social and Religious Research, New York, p. 69. Figures given are for 1923.

HOW FAR IS THE TASK DONE?

As a result of the work of the nineteenth century, the preaching of the gospel has been carried on in almost all parts of the world. A hundred years ago only the merest fringes of the continents of Asia and Africa and the islands of the seas had even heard of Jesus Christ. Into vast areas no representative of the Christian cause could enter except at the peril of life. Even so-called Christian governments and commercial interests put barriers in the way of the missionary; the British East India Company, as we have seen, forbade Carey to land in India and would not allow Morrison to take passage to China on a British ship. Today, however far Christ is from being truly understood and followed, he has at least been proclaimed in most parts of the globe.

Unentered regions, it is true, can still be found in the more inaccessible quarters of the earth. "There is still work which remains to be begun, as well as work that remains to be finished." [6] Tibet still erects bristling barriers; as recently as 1922 the hope of Dr. A. L. Shelton, an intrepid pioneer of the Disciples of Christ, to make a pathway for Christ up to this "roof of the world," met a premature end in his violent death. Afghanistan is even more solidly barred, a very Gibraltar of resistance. On its borderline the heroic missionary doctor, Theodore Pennell, gave his life when he contracted blood

[6] S. M. Zwemer, *The Unoccupied Mission Fields of Africa and Asia*, p. 3.

poisoning from an Afghan patient on whom he was operating. Mongolia, Chinese Turkestan and Baluchistan are untouched save for little corners. Several states in the heart of Africa directly south of the Sahara with uncounted millions of souls are without a single messenger of Christ. "Mohammedan Africa has as yet hardly been touched." [7] In the center of South America lies the greatest stretch of unevangelized territory in the world, the abode of native Indian tribes. In northern Brazil there are seven states, and in northern Peru a territory half as large as our original thirteen colonies, without a missionary worker.[8]

In other great sections of the earth Christian forces are at work but are pitifully meager. It is only little edges of Arabia and Persia, the homelands of Islam, that know any missionary effort. In the Malay Archipelago there are whole islands. as well as the major part of Sumatra and Borneo, which are outside the circle of Christian activity. Even in many long-established fields of work which are relatively well supported, no one could think of claiming that missionary strength is even remotely adequate. The remarkable survey, *The Christian Occupation of China*,[9] for example, disclosed that "one fourth of the total area of China's eighteen

[7] The Christian Mission in Africa. Report of the Conference at Le Zoute, Belgium, in 1926; p. 105.

[8] According to a survey of the Interchurch World Movement, 1920.

[9] Edited by Milton T. Stauffer.

provinces remains uncared for by any Protestant missionary or Chinese home missionary agency."

Still it remains true that the first part of the missionary task, that of making the fact of Christ known, is on its way to completion. "Of the mere *proclamation* of the gospel in all the world we have nearly made an end." [10] We can reasonably look forward to no distant decade when there will be few people who have not had at least a chance to listen to the word of Jesus Christ.

How far that in itself avails is another question. An immense distance will have to be traversed before we can speak of making the world really Christian. Other areas than geographical have to be won for Christ, and much more stubborn ones. The "unoccupied fields" in the living and thinking of mankind in West and East alike banish all thought of complacency or satisfaction. The true missionary task of extending the principles and the spirit of Christ throughout the whole range of human activity is only just begun.

THE ENLARGING CONCEPTION OF THE TASK

The nineteenth century, as has already been suggested, witnessed not only a change in the attitude of the church toward missions, but a change in the conception of the nature of the missionary task itself. At the outset the generally accepted idea was that the purpose of missionary endeavor

[10] *The Spread of Christianity in the Modern World,* p. 318.

was to save individual men and women out of a world which it was assumed could not itself be saved. There was a time when missionary speakers made the point of their appeal that thousands were passing every day to damnation in the world beyond. "Who would not be willing," wrote Samuel Ruggles, an early missionary to Hawaii, "to endure the scorching heat of a sultry region a few fleeting days, if thereby they may be instrumental in plucking immortal souls from the scorching of eternal burning?" [11] To the extent that a narrowly individualistic and other-worldly view prevailed, the influence of the environment in making men and women what they become in this world could be ignored.

In practice, however, the missionary's work was usually far greater than was demanded by any narrow theory. His love for the people to whom he had gone would not let him be indifferent to anything that deeply affected their welfare. If children were utterly neglected, he started schools for them. If he found his converts ostracized and deprived of the means of livelihood, he was forced to be concerned with economic problems. In many ways he found himself striving to create social conditions which would foster the Christian life, reinforcing rather than thwarting the standards and ideals set forth in the gospel. Gradually the theory itself came to be more worthy of the actual program.

[11] Quoted by A. K. Reischauer in *The Task in Japan*, p. 37. To this book I am indebted for many helpful suggestions.

The objective of missions no longer centered around rescuing individuals for a life hereafter; the aim was rather the development, here and now, of Christian character and usefulness. The emphasis accordingly shifted to building up the church as the community of those who had been drawn away from the unconverted world outside, and who in this new environment would live worthily of their new ideals.

But neither the goal of making candidates for a world hereafter, nor the goal of making a little world of Christian converts largely separated from the world around them here and now, could long remain adequate. The conscious goal came to be that of making the world itself into a new kind of world, one permeated in every aspect of its total life by the spirit of Jesus Christ.

Even in the case of the first missionary of the English-speaking world, William Carey, we have seen this enlargement of the missionary task. Beginning with an individualistic view of redemption, Carey found himself inevitably plunged into a host of activities looking toward the redemption of the whole of Indian society. It is an experience which many of his discerning successors in every period have shared. They have found that their earlier aim, good as it was, was not great enough to represent the length and breadth of God's purpose, as made known in Jesus Christ, of transforming the world as it is into the place of love and righteousness

and brotherhood that it ought to be. In this larger view of missions the aim is not simply to snatch a few brands from the burning, it is to put out the fires that threaten all.

THE EXPANDING PROGRAM

With this wider view of the objective of the Christian enterprise, one is able to appreciate more fully the range of service in which the missionary movement has been engaged. Evangelism, it goes without saying, is the fundamental and perennial task. Education, however, is not to be thought of simply as a method of winning converts. In a land of ignorance and illiteracy, education is in itself a great ministry, an undertaking in which the church is interested just because it is a fulfilment of Jesus' ideal that all men should have fulness of life. Even though Robert College on the Bosporus and the American University at Beirut were not, so far as statistics would show, to result in more than occasional converts from Islam, they would nevertheless stand among the great missionary institutions of the world, revealing the spirit of Christlike love in a part of the world torn by racial and religious animosities. A distinguished financier, Frank A. Vanderlip, formerly president of the National City Bank of New York, when asked what was the remedy for Europe's post-war ills, replied, "It is to such institutions as Robert College that we must look."

Not always, however, has the broader outlook

prevailed. Smaller horizons have at times hemmed in some of the missionary movements. About the middle of the nineteenth century several American groups advocated a very restricted endeavor, neglecting even the development of education. Indeed, they almost reversed the statesmanlike ideals of Carey, Duff and other early pioneers. Many schools were closed. There was a period of reaction, one of "those waves of anti-educational sentiment," to quote the Edinburgh Conference of 1910, "which have in times past checked or undone the work of educational missions." In 1853 an investigating commission reported to one of the greatest denominational boards that "schools are not a wise or scripturally appointed agency for propagating Christianity among a heathen people." Another prominent board in 1856 declared that "the school and the press are most likely to exceed their proper limits," and gave up much of its educational work.

Fortunately the major trend has been in the direction of the larger goal, recognizing the need for interests and sympathies as wide as life itself. Think of what India, to take a single illustration, would lack in education were it not for the missionaries. More than a score of mission colleges of the highest standing attract great numbers both of high-caste Hindus and of Moslems every year. In providing elementary schools the missionaries have far outrun the government, having undertaken such a program a generation earlier. In hundreds of villages

of outcastes there is still no teaching of any sort except what missionaries provide. Until only a few years ago almost the only schools open to girls throughout India were those maintained by Christian missions. Even today only about six per cent of the girls of school age are in schools. Missions have been making earnest also with the problem of training the people to provide for themselves the economic basis of the good life. India is a poor country, beyond anything the imagination of most people in well-fed America can conceive. Upwards of nine tenths of the people get their living by tilling a little strip of land with pretty much the same kind of plow that Abraham used in Ur of the Chaldees. Not merely in conspicuous undertakings like that in Allahabad—where a thoroughly equipped agricultural institute is teaching the Indians how to improve their cattle, use modern machinery and increase the productivity of the soil—but also in the less known industrial schools maintained for the depressed classes and even for criminal groups, the Christian movement has been incarnating the spirit of him who came that they might have life and have it more abundantly.

The work of the medical missionary likewise is not to be conceived exclusively as a means for opening the door to the preaching of the gospel. Its real significance is deeper. The ministry of healing is in itself an embodiment of the spirit of Christ, a part of the Christianization of life for which the

missionary movement at its best has always stood. Who would think of testing the success of Dr. Wilfred T. Grenfell solely by the number of accessions to the churches of Labrador? Or suppose, for the sake of argument, that during the year when Dr. W. J. Wanless performed 25,000 surgical operations, of which 6,000 were for cataracts, in his hospital at Miraj, India, one could point to no Hindu who had joined the Christian fellowship. Would anyone consider closing the hospital? The question is unthinkable. The hospital is to the whole Bombay presidency a living symbol of what the gospel of Christ means to human life, so much so that an Indian with whom I once fell into conversation on a railway train in western India said to me, "The Doctor Sahib is the kindest man I have ever seen. He seems to us like a God."

Of the amazing sweep of the modern missionary movement the connection of Livingstone with the abolition of the slave trade stands as another unforgettable example. Not a few church people who were imbued with the narrower view of missions chided him for giving too much attention to "secular" things. But to Livingstone nothing that made for the emancipation and the enrichment of the life of any of God's children could be secular. "When, after ten years in Africa, he saw eight native boys exchanged for eight muskets, his life purpose suddenly expanded. When, later, the paddle-wheels of his steamboat on the Zambezi were entirely

clogged with the corpses of slaves that had floated down in the night, that purpose became an irresistible passion. No amount of preaching in a single station on the coast could accomplish much, so long as a continuous flood of iniquity and suffering poured down from the interior." [12]

A missionary in Africa in our own day, Dan Crawford, put the whole modern view of the scope of missions in language of crystal clarity when he said: "No doubt it is our diurnal duty to preach that the soul of all improvement is the improvement of the soul. But God's equilateral triangle of body, soul and spirit must never be ignored. Is not the body wholly ensouled, and is not the soul wholly embodied? In other words, in Africa the only true fulfilling of your heavenly calling is the doing of earthly things in a heavenly manner." [13]

MEASURING THE RESULTS

All this means that the success of Christian missions can be but slightly gauged by statistics of the number of converts. The figures, however, are not unimpressive. Morrison remarked in China shortly before he died there, "After one hundred years of mission work, if there are one hundred genuine converts in this land, it will be nothing less than a miracle." A century has not yet elapsed, but there

[12] Quoted by W. H. P. Faunce in *The Social Aspects of Foreign Missions,* p. 232.

[13] Daniel Crawford, *Thinking Black,* p. 444.

are about 400,000. India has a general Christian constituency of upwards of five millions. The first decade of the present century saw the number of Christians increase 34.2 per cent, while the total population of the country gained 6.4 per cent, a Christian advance five times as great as the advance in population. In Korea, where the missionary movement began only a little over forty years ago, there is already a communicant church membership of over 100,000. On the island of Aneiytum in the New Hebrides a tablet in a great church in memory of John Geddie bears this inscription: "When he landed in 1848 there were no Christians here; when he left in 1872 there were no heathen." [14] On the Sandwich Islands, where Captain Cook had found savages in the latter half of the eighteenth century, the Christian movement by 1863 had attained to such a measure of self-support that the missionary board was able to withdraw.

In certain other lands, the strongholds of Islam particularly, a very different picture is presented. Not only has Christianity made slight numerical progress in most Moslem countries, but in one continent, Africa, Islam is gaining. In India and in the Dutch East Indies, however, Christianity has for some years been making significant advances, and not a few converts from Islam now hold high places of Christian leadership.

In any case the influence of the Christian com-

[14] *The New Acts of the Apostles*, p. 347.

munity in every country has far outrun its numbers. Consider China. In the first parliament under the new republic there were no fewer than sixty Christians, and yet the Christians numbered only one out of every thousand of the population. Out of the little group of Chinese students in America who organized a Y. M. C. A. of their own as recently as 1909, one has since represented China at the Versailles Peace Conference, and has handled the delicate task of taking back Shantung from Japanese control; another is president of one of the greatest government universities in China; another is a leading professor in St. John's University, Shanghai; and a score of others have made almost as notable contributions to the new China in other ways.[15]

Nor should it ever be forgotten that the personality of Jesus Christ is leaving its deep impress on millions of men who have not broken away from their ancestral religious community. The influence of his character and his teaching has permeated wide and deep, even among those who are not called by his name. How vividly one sees this in India! What better evidence could one ask than Mahatma Gandhi, who, though still calling himself a Hindu, frankly confesses his profound debt to Christ and bows in reverence before him? In the summer of 1926 Gandhi accepted an invitation to teach the New Testament at the Gujarat National College. When accused by Hindu groups of being a Christian

[15] See Paul Hutchinson, *China's Real Revolution,* pp. 173-174.

in secret, he replied that he did and could do nothing secretly, but that certainly he deeply appreciated the beauty of the life of Christ.

Another and more objective evidence of the influence of Christian ideals outside the Christian church is seen in their effect upon other religions. In India the Brahmo Somaj, which arose as an eclectic movement emphasizing the unity of all men in spiritual worship and in service, and was born of the influence of Christ upon the questing spirit of Ram Mohan Roy, is only one of many reforms of Hinduism. In Japan today Buddhism is feeling the impress of Christian social idealism. A writer tells of finding in the remote monastery at Koya San a priest of the most mystical Buddhist sect who had studied at Toynbee Hall and Hull House in order to introduce constructive social service into his own program.[16]

BUILDING A NEW SOCIETY

That the missionary movement has been one of the mightiest forces in the development of a new and better society in all lands, there is overwhelming evidence. Beyond the inspiration, the comfort, and the hope which Christian missions have brought to countless individuals, has been their influence in building a worthier social life. A new spirit has been released wherever the true apostle of Christ

[16] Kenneth J. Saunders, "Christ and the Buddha." *Atlantic Monthly,* February, 1927.

has gone. Among barbarous and savage tribes the humanizing effect of missions has been conspicuous. Charles Darwin will certainly not be regarded as prejudiced in favor of religion, yet this scientist, trained to the utmost accuracy in observation, bore testimony to the marvelous changes he saw taking place among the Indians of Tierra del Fuego. He even contributed to the support of the missionary work and declared, "I certainly should have predicted that not all the missionaries in the world could have done what has been done." [17] He gave similar witness as to what had occurred in Fiji, where the rock on which little children were once brained before being eaten has now been turned into a Christian baptismal font. In Zanzibar in Central Africa the altar of a cathedral stands on the spot once occupied by the whipping-post for slaves.

Take as a more comprehensive illustration what was achieved in Uganda as the work of Alexander Mackay, the Scotch missionary-engineer, who "carried into Africa, as part of his missionary outfit, steam-pipes, cylinders, piston-rods, crank-shafts, pumps and forges, screws and rivets." When he arrived, witchcraft, polygamy and violence were rife. Amidst such conditions he and his associates laid foundations not only of what has become virtually a self-supporting church, but also of a decent and ordered community life. Today nearly a hundred thousand boys and girls are in mission

[17] *Life and Letters of Charles Darwin,* vol. II, p. 308.

schools in this land where a generation ago "few men and no women knew a letter of the alphabet or had an alphabet to know a letter of." Or, for further evidence, turn to the Lovedale institution in South Africa, where training of the African in self-support through the useful arts and crafts such as agriculture, carpentry and printing, has been a fundamental since its establishment in 1820. This was before the idea of industrial education was developed in Europe or America.

In lands that possessed a more developed civilization, the uplifting influence of Christian missions has been no less vital, though less spectacular. Without minimizing the high values that inhere in the venerable cultures of India, China and Japan, and without exaggerating the virtues of our Western civilization, flagrantly untrue to the spirit of Christ as it is in so many ways, one cannot escape the conclusion that the Christian gospel has been an incomparable moral dynamic for the social regeneration of the Orient.

Modern education in all these lands has been due, in the main, to the initiative not of governments or trade or general philanthropy, but of missions. Professor John Dewey will hardly be regarded as biased in favor of the church, yet on his return from China a few years ago he declared that after having emphasized the shortcomings of mission schools he had had to confess that the missionary movement seemed still to be the only Western instrumentality

possessing sufficient motive-power to be concerned to help the Chinese in their educational aspirations.

One might well stake the whole issue of the worth of foreign missions on what it has done to emancipate womanhood from the imprisoning traditions of centuries, and to give it a new place in the Eastern world. It is entirely within the bounds of conservative statement to say that no critic of missions could thoroughly study the work of an institution like the Isabella Thoburn College at Lucknow, the first college for women in all Asia, without coming upon incontrovertible evidence of the redemptive forces released by the missionary movement. No one can visit the Constantinople College for Women and not see in it the brightest ray that has shone in the rising dawn of Turkish womanhood. When the recent president of the college, Mary Mills Patrick, retired, the renowned leader of Turkish women of today, Halidé Hanum, who commanded the attention of the world by her distinguished service to the new republic, went in person to thank Dr. Patrick for her contribution to Turkey's future.

Even in a country like Japan, where education by the government has moved ahead by leaps and bounds, the idea of social and intellectual equality of women with men has run so counter to deep-rooted tradition that for decades the education of women was entirely the work of missionaries. The first school for girls was opened in 1870 by a missionary. Even today the highest types of govern-

mental institutions open to women above high school grade are the two normal schools. Practically all of the colleges for women in Japan are either distinctly Christian schools or have been closely identified with Christian influences. The institution that bears the name of Miss Tsuda is the creation of the remarkable Christian woman who was one of the first group of Japanese girls to study in America. Kobe College has had a distinguished career for twenty-five years. The Women's Union Christian College, founded in 1918 as a cooperative undertaking of six missions, marks a still more advanced stage of development.[18]

The extent to which other modern movements for social welfare are directly or indirectly associated with Christian missions can scarcely be believed by one who has not studied the matter. Take Japan, again chosen for an example because of its progressive position along so many lines. The reform of the Japanese prison system had its beginning in the inspection and report made by Dr. Berry, a medical missionary. The leader in the struggle for better conditions for the laboring masses today is the Christian Kagawa. Agitation against the system of licensed prostitution has received its impulse from Christian circles. As late as 1907 the Japan Year

[18] Other illustrations equally telling could be drawn from the other union colleges for women in the Orient: Yenching College, Peking; Ginling College, Nanking; North China Union Medical College for Women; the Women's Christian College of Madras; the Union Medical School of Vellore.

Book declared, "It is a significant fact that by far the greater part of private charity of any large scope is conducted by Christians, both natives and aliens."[19] When, in October 1926, thirty-two men and women were summoned to Tokyo to receive recognition from the imperial government for notable contributions to social service, the Christians among them numbered twenty-one.

The dent made by the Christian movement upon the age-long curse of India, the caste system, can hardly be more than intimated in this brief review. At first sponsored almost exclusively by missionaries, the breaking down of caste walls is now championed by many other idealists. The progress of the Christian gospel among the despised outcastes has been largely responsible for this new stirring of the conscience of India. Whole villages made up of the bottom strata of society have gone over to Christianity. That economic and social motives, as well as those distinctly religious, have caused this unique phenomenon cannot be denied. To become "Christian" has automatically meant a whole new standing for these contemned and neglected classes, who, in the view of popular Hinduism, were as incapable of advance as monkeys. That the gathering of ignorant multitudes into the Christian fold from motives other than inner conversion has created an overwhelming problem for the missionary is equally

[19] Quoted in *The Spread of Christianity in the Modern World*, p. 164.

undeniable. But the noble Christian characters that have come up out of this unpromising soil have been a convincing demonstration of the power of Christ to create all things anew, and have made a profound impression upon many a high-born Hindu.

Volumes could be written—Dr. James S. Dennis wrote three of them thirty years ago [20]—on other phases of the relation of missions to social progress. Merciful provision for lepers and the blind, the care of childhood, the ministry of healing, the development of better agricultural and economic conditions, the fight against awful inhumanities like slavery and the opium traffic, the attack on social evils like polygamy and concubinage, the furthering of democratic aspirations—these and many other phases of a great process of elevating the human race have been results of missionary endeavor.

Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, justice of the High Court of Bombay, not himself a Christian, summed it up for his own country when he said, "The ideas that lie at the heart of the gospel of Christ are slowly but surely permeating every part of Hindu society and modifying every phase of Hindu thought." Note that he did not say that so-called Christian civilization was doing this; nor that Christianity as a theological or ecclesiastical system was doing it. It is "the ideas that lie at the heart of the gospel of Christ" that are making all things new. In other words, the personality of Jesus Christ itself, to-

[20] James S. Dennis, *Christian Missions and Social Progress.*

gether with the new belief in the value of every person as a child of God and the ideal of brotherhood revealed by and in him, is the leaven which is leavening the mass.

FOES IN OUR OWN HOUSEHOLD

But while the Christian movement has been releasing these life-giving influences around the world, other influences also from the West have been constantly undermining them. How humbling it is to our racial pride to recall that even before any Christian effort was made in behalf of Africa, white men thronged its shores to enslave their black brothers. Can we forget, dare we forget, that one of the first ships that brought the cargoes of wretched slaves even bore the name, the *Jesus?* A depressing picture of the moral hollowness that may accompany a religious experience, Christian in name only, walled off from vital application to daily relations with one's fellows.

As the interior of Africa became opened up by the pioneering of Livingstone and other missionaries, the most diabolical forces of the West poured in. The atmosphere in which Christian missions had to be carried on was indescribably baneful. Within a few decades after Livingstone the entire land, except for the little states of Liberia and Abyssinia, had been parceled out as the possessions or dependencies of European nations. War after war was waged against the native peoples. Even

when these wars were not in progress, there was still a background of intrigue among the European powers over the disposition of the land they had grabbed. The exploitation of the inhabitants along with that of the natural resources of the continent has been only a degree less shocking than slavery itself. The revolting record of King Leopold of Belgium in the Congo is only one of the more flagrant illustrations.

Conditions of forced labor almost tantamount to human slavery still exist today. The attitude of the white settlers toward the black man in many areas is a bald denial of the gospel that the missionary has proclaimed. The color line is often drawn inflexibly. Africans are not allowed to own the land on which their fathers lived from time immemorial; they reside only within certain narrow limits defined by whites. They have virtually no share in determining their own civic and political destiny. And all the while the worst vices of the West are making their inroads. "One problem of the missionary and of all his confréres was to bring civilization to the natives of Africa. The next problem is to protect the native against the civilization which has been brought." [21]

The hideous picture in Africa can be duplicated in large part in the South Sea Islands. When the missionaries were the chief influence there, marvelous transformations were achieved. John G.

[21] *The Spread of Christianity in the Modern World,* p. 270.

Paton even described the little island of Aniwa, which when he knew it first had not yet passed out of the stage of cannibalism, as having become the "most openly and reverently Christian community that he had ever visited." Yet in most of these islands the condition of these simple people as a result of what they suffered from Western civilization came to be a tragic one; indeed the native races, except on the Island of Fiji, seem to be dying out. For, following the missionary, came greedy traders, who for the sake of a few more dollars were willing to debauch the natives with rum; men of loose morality who would not shrink from exploiting the native women; unscrupulous adventurers who carried on a system of forced labor and demoralized the islands with the worst vices of the West. A play like "Rain" which, at least by implication, fosters the impression that it is the work of missions which robs the native stock of the vigor characteristic of the more primitive stage, is a lying travesty of the facts. The fact is that the missionary movement has been the redeeming element in the contact of these peoples with the West.

Nor is it only among the more primitive peoples that unchristian influences from the West have counteracted all that the missionary was trying to do. Consider the imperialistic policies, economic and political, of the Western powers with reference to China. When British trade began to press for greater privileges, what was the commodity for

which entry was most eagerly sought? Opium, grown in British India. The war which resulted from the struggle, and which in 1842 ended by the ceding of Hong Kong to the British, is known as the Opium War. About twenty years later the same document, the Treaty of Tientsin, which guaranteed the freedom of preaching and confession of Christianity, also legalized the importation of opium—not a very auspicious combination for the cause of Christ. The holding of the choicest bits of sea front by the European nations, and what the Chinese feel to be an unjustifiable control over their domestic policies, has led to much hatred of foreign influences, including Christianity. The sparks burst into flame in the so-called Boxer Rebellion of 1900. Today we wait with bated breath to see what may be the outcome of the onrushing tide of nationalism that is sweeping China again.

THE RISE OF INDIGENOUS CHURCHES

As a result of the work of foreign missions in the nineteenth century, in spite of all the obstacles, there is now an indigenous Christian church coming to power in most of the non-Christian lands. Beginning as an alien thing, directed and controlled by missionaries from the West, the Christian movement in the Orient has become rooted in the native soil. In spite of our own hesitant slowness in transferring responsibility to the nationals of these lands, nothing is more obvious than the steadily growing

independence and initiative of the Christian churches in the Orient.

Japan is probably the best illustration of a country in which Christianity early came to reveal itself as more than propaganda directed and controlled by foreigners. The process of naturalization proceeded almost from the first. Only sixteen years after the arrival of the first missionaries, the influence of Neesima, one of the early Japanese Christian leaders, had led to the establishment of Doshisha University in Kyoto, the leading Christian university in Japan. The churches that arose out of missionary effort have had, from the outset, a remarkable independence and self-governing quality. The reaction which set in against Western influences toward the end of the nineteenth century had the unforeseen advantage of strengthening the indigenous character of the Christian movement, a tendency which the most far-seeing missionaries have steadily encouraged by their own readiness to be sympathetic advisers and helpers instead of masters.

When the National Christian Council of China first met in Shanghai in 1922, a noteworthy address was delivered by a spokesman of the Chinese Christians on "The Aims and Aspirations of the Chinese Church." His address clearly revealed that the church in China was attaining its majority. He listed as the duty and the determination of the Chinese church that it should:

Be a fearless fighter against sin
Be a faithful interpreter of Jesus
Stand as the flaming prophet of God
Be an obedient disciple of the Holy Spirit
Be a worthy teacher of the Bible
Be a genuine servant to the Chinese people
Be a defender of Christian unity and comprehensiveness
Be a courageous experimenter in cooperation

Who could read that message and think that the Chinese Christians are not competent, with fraternal help, to guide the policies of their church?

No prophet is needed to discern that the day is not far distant when in almost every country there will be a self-directing Christian movement expressive of the distinctive genius of its own people. In south China in 1925 the Christian converts of the Baptist missions reached the point which has been fittingly described as a "religious Runnymede." [22] They have organized a self-governing, Chinese-controlled church. The missionaries are still urgently needed and warmly desired, not as managers of the Christian enterprise, but as sympathetic co-workers, sharing their experience with the nationals in a task that far transcends the resources of the Chinese Christians alone.

This is but typical of what is coming to be in many lands. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the average missionary was, to all intents and purposes, the director-general of every program. The

[22] "China's Religious Runnymede," *Literary Digest,* November 28, 1925, p. 30.

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nationals in the various countries were his humble and docile assistants. Such a picture long ago went out of fashion. There are now more than occasional instances of nationals being the leading executives in Christian programs, ranking above the missionaries. The head of the theological faculty in Peking University is a Chinese. The general secretaries of both the Y. M. C. A. and the Y. W. C. A. in India, China and Japan are all nationals of their respective countries. Bishop Motoda in Japan and Bishop V. S. Azariah in India testify to the new day when the highest places of leadership are to be filled by others than Western Christians.

THE CLOUD OF WITNESSES

The Christian movement during the nineteenth century abundantly demonstrated its power to produce noble characters in all the races of the world. That every people has potentialities which the influence of Christ can develop has been proved again and again. That Christ has a message not for one race but for all mankind cannot be questioned when we see what he can do in the lives of men of all races.

Who would not feel humbled in the presence of Indian Christians like Narayan V. Tilak, the Marathi poet whose hymns, sung all over India, breathe the spirit of religious devotion which characterizes the Indian soul? Or of Pandita Ramabai, the Brahman widow who became the greatest friend of India's unfortunate women? Or of Sundar

Singh, mystic and saint, who has not only traveled throughout India in the saffron robe of the *sadhu*, or holy man, so familiar to the Hindu masses, but also in China, Japan, England and America, carrying a message that has stirred men and women to the depths? To know of such lives is to gain an increased respect for India, and a strengthened faith in the power of Christ.

In China we find a throng of witnesses testifying to the energies released by contact with the personality of Christ. One thinks at once of men like Dr. Cheng Ching Yi, head of the National Christian Council of China, uniting all the Christian forces of the land; of Chang Po Ling, one of the nation's most distinguished educators, whom President Eliot of Harvard declared to be the most interesting man he had met in Asia; of C. T. Wang, one of the most highly trusted political leaders in China. With special vividness there comes to my mind Timothy T. Lew. Eleven years ago he was a fellow-student with me. Today he is president of the China Christian Educational Association. When during the past year the government of China imposed on all educational institutions restrictive regulations which seemed to make impossible any direct religious work even in Christian colleges, it was Dr. Lew who was able to present their case with such effectiveness as to secure from the government an interpretation which still permits them

to provide voluntary teaching of Christianity and to hold services of worship.

In Japan we see Toyohiko Kagawa making earnest with the meaning of the Christian gospel for the working masses in a way that shames our older Christian leadership in the West; we see Dr. Inazo Nitobe, one of the secretaries of the League of Nations; Miss Utako Hayashi, the social reformer who has led three campaigns against licensed prostitution; Miss Tetsu Yasui, president of the Women's Union Christian College and one of the foremost educational leaders of the country; Honorable Soroku Ebara, member of parliament and president of the Y. M. C. A. in Japan. In Africa there is Dr. Aggrey, a brilliant Negro who has commanded the admiration of students in the universities of our own land.

THE REACTION ON AMERICA

All these together with a multitude of others make us realize that Christian "missionaries" may come from the East to disclose to the West new riches in Christ which we ourselves have missed. Indeed, noteworthy contributions to our American churches are already being made by the Christian leaders from oriental lands who are visiting in our land from time to time. No one who has had the privilege of hearing Cheng Ching Yi or K. T. Paul speak to American audiences can ever feel that the missionary movement is a one-sided thing. The visit

of Kagawa to the United States a few years ago was a stimulus to many of our church groups to do more to relate themselves helpfully to the masses of labor in our own country.

In other and indirect ways also the missionary movement has rendered to our churches at home a service quite as important as it has rendered to Africa or the Orient. When Stanley Jones came back to the United States and spoke about India, a friend who observed him remarked, "Jones, you may have done a lot for India, but India has done a lot for you." That is the experience of all who have shared even from afar in the missionary cause.

For one thing, the missionary enterprise has released new spiritual energies in our home church by setting for us a task great enough to be a stirring challenge to our faith. Many a congregation in New York or Peoria or Fresno has been saved from supineness and parochialism by becoming aware of its part in a worldwide program. No other factor has done so much to break down the provincial spirit and foster a Christian world-mindedness as the missionary cause.

And the missionary enterprise has also proved a spiritual blessing to ourselves by making us realize how far our own land is from being Christian. The effort to commend the Christian gospel to others forces us to our knees in penitence for our own failures in relation to the gospel we preach. We speak to the Hindus of Christian love as able to

overcome the barriers of caste; then we see how our failure to win Western economic life for Christ still leaves divisive cleavages running straight through our own social fabric. We speak to the Chinese of what Christ can do to give peace and moral power to their chaotic national life; the recollection of the world carnage that engulfed the nominally Christian nations makes the words choke in the throat. We tell the Africans that we desire them to be our brothers in Christ; they ask if our treatment of the black man in America is such as to lend persuasion or reality to what we say. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the non-Christian peoples had so little contact with the West that when they heard from the missionary's lips of the new way of life they supposed that the land from which he came really followed it. At the end of the century they knew that this is only fractionally the case.

What is to be our reply? Least of all, any limitation of our worldwide program. That would be to rob ourselves of the very inspiration and incentive that we most need. The great response is, first, to acknowledge humbly how infinitely more Christ means than we in the West yet can show; and then to set ourselves, in fellowship with all those everywhere who seek to follow him, to bring our own personal lives and the life of the world more fully under his sway.

CHAPTER VI

AN ADVENTUROUS TASK FOR OUR GENERATION

EVEN though the aspect of romantic adventure in the missionary movement is passing, the note of spiritual adventure never sounded more loud. There are other trails as hard to blaze as those that lead across swollen rivers or parching deserts, untrodden paths through social and international situations fraught with destiny for the future of mankind. Who can look at the political jungle in which Western powers have wrung privileges from China by armed force, and not hear a bugle call to help discover a better way of international conduct? Who can view the sundering chasm between the white and the colored races in many of our American communities and not feel summoned to help build a bridge of understanding? Who can regard the maelstrom of economic strife in Passaic, New Jersey, or in Osaka, Japan, and not realize that only through sacrificial ventures in brotherhood can we ever arrive at a Christian society?

If we really desire a world of fellowship, we have courageous pioneering still to do. Geographical frontiers are disappearing as physical distance shrinks, but the frontiers of human relationships

never bristled with thornier problems. The call of the frontier has not ceased; it is only the character of the frontier that has changed. Indeed it may well be doubted whether the missionary movement has ever before faced difficulties which called for more of the stuff of which heroes are made. There was a time when Western civilization seemed to be on the side of the missionary. That time is gone. Once the East took it for granted that the West surpassed it in culture; our marvelous conquest of the forces of nature and our unprecedented wealth appeared to imply superior qualities. Today all this is marked with an interrogation point.

REACTION AGAINST WESTERN CIVILIZATION

Of the new attitude Mahatma Gandhi is a dramatic symbol. He bluntly challenges the idea that occidental civilization is superior. He sees the West as eaten with the cancer of materialism, from which he thinks the ancient culture of India is relatively free. He pictures the West as worshiping worldly success and physical force while India reverences men of spiritual vision. Captivated by the Sermon on the Mount, with its ideals of gentleness, humility, simplicity and love, he sees the West rendering it lip-service only. Esteeming Jesus as the greatest personality of history, he believes India is more true to the essential spirit of Jesus than is England or America.

What Mahatma Gandhi is dramatizing in his own

person finds wider expression in the great stirrings of national and racial consciousness throughout the Orient, and many of these movements include Christianity in their general indictment of things Western. All this puts the Christian missionary under terrific handicaps that were unknown a few years ago, forces us to examine the relation of the Christian gospel to our social and international life, and makes us realize that one of the most strategic parts of the missionary movement has to be carried on at home. Many a missionary in Shanghai or Bombay finds that his first prayer is for the success of home missions back in America.

The acuteness of the problem becomes evident when we discover that Christian missions have their greatest success today in those parts of the world where contact with the West is slight, and their least success where the presence of the West is fully felt. Anyone who has visited the great port cities of the Orient has painful impressions of this fact. There he beholds the vices of the West at their awful worst. He sees Western gunboats bearing witness to the Western belief in force, sees Western arrogance displaying itself in supercilious attitudes toward so-called natives, sees the exploitation of women and children in the interest of Western profit. In regions where the missionary is the sole or more conspicuous representative of the West, it is far easier for Eastern peoples to believe in the

saving power of the Christ whom that West professes to follow. The actual message that we are delivering to India or Africa or the isles of the sea is not what Bishop Fisher or Dr. Zwemer or some other missionary says, but what our total life is seen to be in all its impact upon those very countries. Not from the missionary alone but also from the trader, the diplomat, the motion picture promoter, the tourist, and representatives of Standard Oil and the American Tobacco Company are the people of the Orient getting their idea of what Christianity means to the West.

Moreover, the East now comes to the West almost as much as the West goes to the East. Our whole civilization is becoming an open book before the world. More than eight thousand foreign students are in the United States alone; the number is almost as great as that of the missionaries whom all the Protestant churches of America send abroad. A hundred nations are seeing America through the eyes of their own student representatives. These observers know our life at first hand. They carry back to their own people what they have seen and heard and felt, and all too often this is of no help to the Christian cause. In part this is doubtless due to the failure of Christian people here to appreciate either their duty or their privilege in relation to these representatives of other races. These visitors are lonely; they have few American friends;

they do not see much of the best thing in our civilization, the Christian home. But the trouble is also due to many a deep-rooted evil in our life.

On a steamship bound for Bombay I became acquainted with a gifted young physician from Ceylon who had just completed seven years of study in England. "I left India a Christian," he said, "the son of a converted mother. I am returning to India a Hindu." Pressed for an explanation, he gradually unfolded his experience. While still in his native home he had built up a picture of what a Christian land would be like. He had gone to England. He had not found it such a land. He had been appalled by the intemperance he had seen, by the mad rush for money, by the bitterness in the industrial world, by the lack of appreciation for members of his own race, by the reliance of a "Christian" nation on its naval power. Another of those foreign students, after a sojourn in the United States, remarked to me: "I have been turned away from hotels because my skin was dark. I have been refused food in restaurants. I have been generally treated as if I belonged to a lower species. And yet you call your people Christian and me heathen. It looks to me as if you worship one Asiatic, and treat all others as worthy only to be your servants."

Not in any mood of self-righteousness can we go to non-Christian peoples. We have to confess how deficient is our own national life even after centuries of the influence of organized Christianity. Grate-

ful for the host of benign results which have come to Western civilization from Christian influences—for happy homes, for schools and colleges, for hospitals and philanthropies and ministries of mercy, for countless movements for the betterment of human life—we have humbly to recognize the unchristian elements that remain. We have to admit that the West is itself a part of the non-Christian world.[1] Our life is Christian "in spots." Earnest followers of Jesus are laboring to bring every area of life within his influence, and the spirit of Christian idealism is abroad as never before; but there are semi-Christian, unchristian, even anti-Christian forces in what is commonly spoken of as Christendom.

SHALL WE CONFINE EFFORT TO THE WEST?

Does all this mean that in simple honesty we ought to give up missions in other lands and concentrate attention on our own? Voices are not lacking to answer in the affirmative.

Such an answer, however, is impossible for any man who is trying to understand the world in which we are living. The West is steadily pouring its worst elements into the East. Are we not in honor bound to counteract this by sending also our best? Are we to see Western capitalism introduced into

[1] For a fuller development of this thought see D. J. Fleming, *Whither Bound in Missions,* a book to which I am deeply indebted throughout this chapter.

India, making women and children the prey of soulless profit-seeking, and do nothing to mitigate its evils by infusing it with a concern for human values? Are we, after acquiescing in the seizing of the land of the Africans, to have no program of education or help for them? After telling the Japanese that they are ineligible to citizenship because they are Orientals, no matter how worthy their moral and intellectual character may be, are we to slacken our support of Christian work in Japan, the one factor which is helping the Japanese to see that millions of American Christians have better ideas of brotherhood than are represented by the prevailing policy of our government? Are we to retain the Philippines and our hold on Haiti and Santo Domingo indefinitely for the benefit of American investors, despite the assurance of independence given by our Congress, and yet do nothing to let the island people know that there are Americans who care for them and their human rights more than for their rubber or their sugar?

Except for the Christian missionary, the idealism and the moral character of the Western world—which are just as deeply a part of it as its materialism and its lust for power—would have been without a representative in many lands. Our own sense of self-respect, even if there were no other considerations, would lay on us an imperious obligation to sustain the missionary enterprise. To weaken it in the slightest degree would be to rob the world of the

one great disinterested force for saving other peoples from many iniquities for which the West is largely responsible.

But that new emphases are needed in the missionary movement today both at home and abroad is as clear as noonday. The social and intellectual outlook of the twentieth century is poles away from that of the period when modern missions began. When Adoniram Judson proclaimed the gospel of Christ for the first time in Burma in 1813, and Jason Lee in 1834 preached to the red men the first Christian sermon ever heard on the western slope of the Rocky Mountains, they were dealing with peoples who understood little of the character of so-called Christendom. Today the missionary movement is face to face with peoples who know both what the Christian gospel is and how far great groups professing it are from being motivated by it in wide ranges of their thought and life.

What changes in our approach to the missionary task are demanded by this changed environment which our generation faces?

CHRISTENDOM VS. CHRISTIANITY

There is, in the first place, the necessity for discriminating sharply between Christendom and Christianity. Not long ago one heard many appeals for the missionary enterprise on the ground that it was carrying Western civilization (Christian civilization, it is often called) all over the world. The slow old

East was to be made over on up-to-date European and American models. It was to have Western railroads, Western clothes, Western business efficiency, factories like those of Pittsburg and Birmingham, automobiles like those of Detroit, colleges like those of Boston and Chicago. And this was all vaguely assumed to have something to do with the progress of Christianity. A "saxophone style of missionary apologetics," Dr. Robert E. Speer has aptly termed it.

During the period when the prestige of occidental civilization in the Orient was high, this loose identification of all things Western with Christianity contributed to the success, at least the apparent success, of the missionary. It was so in Japan forty years ago. Enthusiastically appropriating everything that bore an occidental label, the Japanese included the Western religion within the range of their favor, along with Western military organization and Western battleships. But one day the predisposition to foreign things turned to prejudice. Eager now to reassert the worth of their own culture and to keep their own national excellences from being overshadowed, the Japanese included the Western religion in their reaction.

Today the widespread tide of racial self-consciousness makes the distinction between Western civilization and Christianity a matter of prime consequence. In China, Japan, India, Africa, the missionaries discover no more baffling obstacle than the

tendency to associate the Christian religion with the imperialism, the militarism, the capitalism of the European and American nations. "Your Jesus," said a distinguished Indian patriot to a missionary in Bombay, "is hopelessly handicapped by his connection with the West." [2] The fiery spokesmen of the anti-Christian movement in China base their denunciation of Christianity chiefly upon the allegation that it is sponsored by the very people who have robbed China of her sovereignty and of her land and forced unequal treaties upon her.

In supporting the missionary movement it should not be of a moment's concern to us whether any Eastern nation accepts the outward forms of our civilization. Let the people of the Orient take as little as they please of our Western ideas and ways. When they find elements of beauty and moral power —and there are many such, deriving from the influence of Jesus Christ—we will rejoice. But where they see ugly and unchristian elements, springing from an unwillingness to follow in Jesus' way, let us hope that our Eastern brothers will set their faces against these like a flint. Christianity and Western civilization are different things. The Orient may take the one and spurn the other. This is absolutely the first emphasis our generation needs in its present missionary approach.

[2] As reported to the author by Rev. J. F. Edwards, of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.

CHRISTIANITY AND CHRIST

But it is not enough to discriminate between Christendom and Christianity: we must go on in the second place, to distinguish between Christianity, as any formal system, and Christ. The need for doing this in our own land will be apparent to anyone who will take the trouble to listen to what is being said by many labor leaders, social workers, and by various persons who are outside of organized Christianity but are aflame with passion for a better human life. "I adore Jesus, but I seldom go to church," said a well-known prophet of social justice and brotherhood not long ago. "I do not seem to discern him there amid all the doctrinal controversies and organizations and the conventionalities that are associated with his name." A more ironical voice, commenting on a spectacular evangelist, says:

> You come along . . . tearing your shirt . . . yelling about Jesus,
> Where do you get that stuff?
> What do you know about Jesus? . . .
> You tell people living in shanties Jesus is going to fix it up all right with them by giving them mansions in the skies after they're dead and the worms have eaten 'em.
>
> You tell six-dollar-a-week department store girls all they need is Jesus; you take a steel-trust wop, dead without having lived, gray and shrunken at forty years of age, and you tell him to look at Jesus on the cross and he'll be all right. . . .

I'm telling you Jesus wouldn't stand for the stuff you're handing out.[3]

To Christianity as a theological and ecclesiastical system evolved by the West, hosts of cultured Orientals are indifferent even while they bow before the person of Jesus Christ. No one can read Stanley Jones' *The Christ of the Indian Road* and have any doubt about the necessity for distinguishing between Christ and the various schemes of thought and organization that have been built around his name. Wherever this missionary goes among educated Hindus or Mohammedans he always makes the distinction transparently plain. He tries to set before them Jesus himself, in his spiritual perfection and moral power, freed from traditional ideas associated with him. These non-Christians see the difference. All who would further the cause of Christian missions must see it. Our message is Jesus. He is the good news that we have to bring. Can we not trust those who really know him, to formulate, under the guidance of God, whatever doctrine or worship or organization seems to them wise and true to his spirit?

The need for discriminating between Christ and Christianity in any institutionalized form is further apparent when one realizes how many unfortunate connotations the term Christianity has accumulated for various non-Christian peoples in the past. Speak

[3] Carl Sandburg, "To a Contemporary Bunkshooter," in *Chicago Poems,* Henry Holt & Co.

to the Turk of Christianity and he can hardly be blamed for recalling either the ruthlessness of the Crusades, or the recent venom against even a modern Turkish government that is trying to effect reforms. Speak of Christianity to the Jew, and somewhere in the back of his mind are the pogroms of eastern and central Europe. Speak of Christianity to many a Russian, and he thinks of the dead hand of reactionary conservatism and oppression which prevailed under the Czars.

This forces us to raise a still further question: how far is the church itself in its own behavior truly Christian? Are even Christian missions always Christian? Are there certain attitudes and practices which have become established in our institutional life without our recognizing how untrue they are to the spirit of him whom the institutions are meant to show forth and to serve?

Jesus was stirred with moral indignation against the wrongs that were perpetrated by the dominant groups in society against those who were having to struggle for a better standard of life. Would an observer from another planet regard this as a conspicuous mark of the church today? Or would he say that the outlook of the church shares the outlook of society around it and is chiefly determined by those who have themselves prospered from the existing order of things, and so are partially blind to its defects?

Jesus included all classes and conditions of men

within the circle of his sympathies and his fellowship. Is the average church in the community doing that today? Do rich and poor, employers and employees, Nordic and Negro, meet together before the Lord, the Maker of them all? "Would anything be so likely to convince a skeptical world of the integrity of the church as a demonstration of the democracy which the church professes? With magnificent rhetoric the church has proclaimed the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. But, unfortunately, she has tolerated class distinctions and class pride within her own organization; and a skeptical world has looked on, sometimes with anger, sometimes with amusement, always with contempt. What if the church should begin not only to preach brotherhood but to practise it?" [4]

Jesus never failed to see the good in men. Do missions always do this? Or do we sometimes overlook the inherent excellences of the men of other races and other religions and paint all their shortcomings in darkest tones?

A CHRISTIAN SOCIAL ORDER DEMANDED

The present hour loudly calls, in the third place, for a more determined effort to reconstruct our social order according to the mind of Christ. No other achievement could be remotely comparable with this as a convincing apologetic for the Christian gospel. If the churches tacitly acquiesce in the un-

[4] E. F. Tittle, *What Must the Church Do to Be Saved?* pp. 28-29.

christian concept that business and industry may be conducted primarily as a competitive struggle for profit rather than as a cooperative enterprise for human service, the missionary movement will go lame and halt. If, on the other hand, our commercial life can be organized on a basis of consciously ministering to human welfare, it will become the supreme ally of the Christian cause.

In our foreign trade the issue comes to sharpest focus. The history of the commercial relations of the Western nations with the East discloses elements of the most sordid selfishness. It is not easy to make a convincing reply to the Chinese woman who said to a missionary after an evangelistic appeal: "You come to us with Jesus in one hand and opium in the other. We do not want your opium and your Jesus." But one need not dwell on the opium traffic in China or forced labor in Africa or the liquor trade in India to show the disastrous implications of an unchristianized business life. Not simply in these flagrant abuses but in the whole idea that selfish individualism is to rule in the economic realm, is the missionary compromised in his proclamation of the gospel of love.

The solution of the problem lies beyond the sphere both of the missionary on the field and of the missionary board at home. It concerns the purpose and the practice of the entire church, and enters into the character of all our evangelism, all our preaching, all our religious education. It comes

home to every pastor, every Sunday-school teacher, every Christian in his daily life. It makes us ask to what extent the local church, *my* church, is inspiring its members to carry Christian principles into practical application in industrial life.

That many Christian laymen are today moving out into courageous experiments in a more Christian organization of their industrial establishments is one of the most hopeful signs of a new day for the Christian gospel. A few years ago a young business man in New York became president of the Dutchess Bleachery, at Wappingers Falls, New York. The old idea of a master-servant relationship could not satisfy his Christian conscience. A partnership plan was worked out in accordance with which capital, management, labor and the community all share in the direction of the establishment. A joint control, an equal sharing of the profits, and a full knowledge of the business of the company by labor, became foundation stones.

In Atlanta, Georgia, another young man, who became president of the American Cast Iron Pipe Company, worked out a similar plan as a part of his defined ideal to organize his plant on a basis of cooperation in a public service according to the principles of Jesus. When one man said to him that he, too, would be glad to do this if only he were sure it would make his business successful, John J. Eagan replied: "There has not been a business man since the beginning of time who would not be glad to do that.

If we cannot put Jesus Christ in business, we ought to get out of business, and get somewhere we can go with Jesus Christ." When Mr. Eagan died he left all the common stock of the company to the employees who had worked with him in building it up.[5]

Every such undertaking, every attempt to translate the ideal of Jesus into more of a living reality in one's own place of daily work, is a direct contribution to the missionary cause.

A CHRISTIAN INTERNATIONAL ORDER DEMANDED

Our international as well as our industrial order has to be rebuilt on Christian foundations if the missionary's message is not to sound hollow and unreal. The relations of nations have been simply the political counterpart of an economic structure based on acquisitiveness and unregulated competition. As a result, we stand at the bar of judgment for a world war that pitilessly revealed the moral bankruptcy of Western governments, and also the failure of the church to lead the nations into a better way. The missionary, even among the simple peoples of Africa, is pursued by the reproachful ghost of that war. Albert Schweitzer, the fascinating figure who, after winning a worldwide reputation as a scholar and

[5] See Federal Council Bulletin, May-June, 1924. The Columbia Conserve of Indianapolis, the A. Nash Company of Cincinnati, the Hart Schaffner and Marx Company of Chicago, are a few of the many other companies that are moving forward in more democratic and cooperative relationships between employers and employees.

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foremost interpreter of the music of Bach, went to the Congo as a medical missionary, writes:

"Bitter humiliation awaits all of us who preach the gospel in distant lands. 'Where, indeed, is your ethical religion?'—that is the question we are asked, no matter whether we are among more primitive peoples in out-of-the-way places, or among the educated classes in the large centers of Eastern and African civilization. What Christianity has accomplished as the religion of love is believed to have been blotted out by the fact that it failed to educate the Christian nations to peaceableness, and that in the war it associated itself with so much worldliness and hatred, from which to this day it has not yet broken away. It has been so terribly unfaithful to the spirit of Jesus . . . Preaching the gospel in foreign lands today, we are the advance guard of an army that has suffered a defeat and needs to be made fit again." [6]

The prospect of another war, like a ghoulish specter, haunts every missionary enterprise. Unless the Christian churches can do in the future what they have not done in the past—generate enough moral dynamic to destroy the war system, root and branch, and to build up a system of international cooperation for the maintenance of justice and peace, the missionary movement will inevitably decline. Suppose, for example, a universal conflict should

[6] Albert Schweitzer, *Christianity and the Religions of the World,* pp. 91, 93.

break forth in the Pacific. That seeds of strife are plentiful there no thoughtful man can doubt. They lie in the necessity of the Eastern nations for an outlet for surplus population, in the racial discriminations practised by the West, in the struggle for the control of the rich resources of the Orient. Such a war, if allowed to germinate, would engulf the whole missionary work in Asia, and give to the Christian cause a moral setback so overwhelming as to undo what devoted representatives of Christ have been doing there for more than a century.

Quite apart from the contingency of war, an examination of the prevailing policies of the great Western powers toward each other, and more particularly toward weaker peoples, reveals moral menaces at our own doors. While denouncing the imperialism of other nations, we like to think of ourselves as free from it. Yet to the Latin American countries the policies of the United States seem thoroughly infused with the imperialistic idea, especially on the economic side. These neighbors particularly object to the invocation of the Monroe Doctrine—not to its original purpose in preventing predatory ambitions of European nations in this hemisphere, but to the transformation of it into an assertion of our right to impose North American views and interests on South American governments. They feel it to be a deliberate effort to keep under tutelage peoples who should be allowed to stand on their own feet. They suspect it to be a cloak for a

subtle purpose to dominate them politically and commercially. Witness the recurring presence of our marines and warships in Nicaragua. The suspicion and resentment arising from this general policy are working serious damage to the fraternal relations between the peoples of the Americas.

For the exaggerated emphasis placed throughout the world on military force as the final security, surely the West and not the East is most to blame. Rabindranath Tagore's words about our responsibility for Japanese militarism are severe but true:

"Japan had all her wealth of humanity, her harmony of heroism and beauty, her depth of self-control and richness of self-expression, yet the Western nations felt no respect for her till she proved that the bloodhounds of Satan are not only bred in the kennels of Europe but can also be domesticated in Japan and fed with man's miseries. They admit Japan's equality with themselves only when they know that Japan also possesses the key to open the flood-gate of hell-fire upon the fair earth whenever she chooses." [7]

The clamant need for the moral redemption of the economic and international life of the world makes it impossible for us today to conceive the missionary task in merely individualistic terms. The individual personality, it is true, is the center of our interest, but always in relation to a complex social environment. To be truly Christian requires me not

[7] Rabindranath Tagore, *Nationalism*, p. 102.

only to be Christian toward my next-door neighbor, but also to take a stand for Christian conduct on the part of great groups of which I am a member—business corporation, labor union, nation. The fact that we have allowed ourselves to regard international trade and politics as outside the realm of our Christian responsibility, permitted the ironical situation in which Sir John Bowring, as an individual church member, could write, "In the Cross of Christ I glory," at the same time that, as a diplomat of the British government, he was laboring to legalize the opium traffic in China. Sir John believed in the sublime teaching of the Cross but he had not yet discovered that it had a meaning for national as well as personal life. A similar lack of understanding makes it possible today for a well-known publication to call for a "revival of religion" in the same issue that it opposes legislation against child labor.

A NEW APPRECIATION OF OTHER RACES

A fourth thing absolutely indispensable to the further advance of the Christian movement both at home and abroad is a new appreciation of other races. Unless we can get over our false notions of any inherent Anglo-Saxon superiority, unless we can rise above the racial snobbery toward darker peoples which has been so characteristic of northern Europeans and Americans, we shall be unconsciously testifying to the impotence of Christianity to create the world unity of which we preach. We tell the

people of India that their caste discriminations are contrary to the Christian teaching of brotherhood; they ask us if our race discriminations in America are less so. In our gospel we have given the other peoples of the world an ideal in the light of which to judge all phases of their life; and in its light they are judging our own. To increase our missionary forces, to raise more money for missions, to devise improved methods of missionary work, will be of slight avail unless we can at the same time lay hold of enough of the spirit of Christ to bridge the yawning gulf created by our racial antipathies.

A great national gathering which convened not long ago for the purpose of extending the program of religious education, had hanging above the platform of the auditorium the inspiring motto: "Building Together a Christian Citizenship." And yet at that very meeting the delegates could not even sit together to discuss working together! The Negro delegates, disciples of the same Lord, had to be assigned a section by themselves. Many a Negro of culture and education is forced to sit up all night while traveling—"Jim Crow" cars do not carry sleeping accommodations. Indians and Mexicans and southern Europeans in our midst could reinforce the record with countless instances of prejudice against them. If such conditions are to continue, can we blame the darker peoples for raising the question as to how much vitality there is in the religion of brotherhood which we seek to propagate?

Missionaries in Japan tell us that if the Christian people of America could secure a change in the section of our immigration law discriminating against Orientals, it would be worth more than sending a hundred new missionaries. A leader in India goes further and says that "in certain circles those missionaries who are there now will either mark time until it is repealed, or win the people in spite of being Americans." [8] Bishop Herbert Welch of Korea even declares that "unless we can show more of the Christian spirit in our treatment of aliens, we might almost as well withdraw our missionaries from the Orient." [9]

The problem at the root, however, is not one of any special act or event, but of the whole disposition of the white race to treat other races as inferior peoples. Even if the assumption on which this attitude rests were true, it would still give no excuse for unjust treatment. But the assumption is entirely unproved, indeed there is strong evidence to the contrary. Differences in present development and attainment there obviously are, but it does not follow that these are due to inherent differences in native ability. Contrasted environment and opportunities for education may explain them. What we call an inferior race may be only backward in its development. In the savage the possibilities of civilization are only latent, not absent. It is con-

[8] *The Christ of the Indian Road,* p. 112.
[9] H. Welch, *That One Face,* p. 85.

ducive to humility for us Anglo-Saxons, for example, to recall that Julius Cæsar wrote of our ancestors of about twenty centuries ago that "they clothe themselves in skins . . . have wives in common, offer up human beings as sacrifices." [10]

In any case, as Professor D. J. Fleming points out, it is a demonstrable fact that in every other race there are many individuals whose endowment is the equal at least of that of the great rank and file of the white race. In a word, the differences between the several races are far less striking than the variations within each race, so that "if we were wishing to select a hundred people who are to be quite superior to another hundred, one of the most foolish ways would be to choose them by race." [11] And Professor Franz Boas, the distinguished anthropologist, concludes that, even if there is much which we do not yet know about the distribution of faculty among the races, we can at least say that "the average faculty of the white race is found to the same degree in a large proportion of individuals of all other races; and although it is probable that some of these races may not produce as large a proportion of great men as our own race, there is no reason to suppose that they are unable to reach the

[10] De Bello Gallico, V: 14; VI: 16; quoted by Basil Mathews in *The Clash of Color*, p. 132.

[11] D. J. Fleming, *Whither Bound in Missions*, p. 17. His whole discussion of this subject is most illuminating.

level of civilization represented by the bulk of our own people." [12]

So the assertion of the fundamental unity of human nature, implied in the Christian teaching that all are "of one blood," children of a common Father, seems to be justified by science. And one point of practical crucial significance is beyond dispute: there is no right or privilege or distinction which I can claim on the sole ground of racial inheritance, and no right or privilege or distinction of which any other man can justly be deprived on racial grounds.

THE CONTRIBUTION OF OTHER RACES

Moreover, when we talk of greater excellence let us not forget that there are various kinds of excellence. The white race apparently excels, at least at present, in subduing other peoples to its will, in the conquest of nature by science, in developing the material resources of the earth. But are there not qualities also admired by us which are more characteristic of other peoples than of our militarized, mechanized, materialistic, assertive West? How about humility, serenity of spirit, gentleness, spiritual insight? Dare we say that we surpass in these? What people excel the Chinese in patience or in loyalty in personal relationships? Who would not acknowledge an almost matchless love of beauty and courtesy in Japan? What race has shown more of sunny cheerfulness, even in hardship, than the

[12] Franz Boas, *The Mind of Primitive Man*, p. 94.

African? Who excels the Latin American in powers of imagination? What country has a profounder sense of the reality of the unseen than India?

No race can be named that does not have qualities which merit our respect and which we need to emulate. Surely there is equality among the races in the same sense, at least, that there is equality among the members of the body; all are equally necessary to richness of life in the whole.

The idea, still held by some, that it is the destiny of the darker peoples to be the hewers of wood and drawers of water for the white race is the product of ignorance, and is shattered by examination of the evidence. How amazingly poorer would be the world's literature—to take but a single aspect of culture—if bereft of some of the marvelous contributions of those whom shallow-thinking "Nordics" would doom to menialism. Probably the most distinguished world figure in literature today, a winner of the Nobel prize, is a representative of the Orient, Rabindranath Tagore. His poems, even when translated from the musical Bengali into our inadequate prose, are a source of universal inspiration as well as of delight.

To listen to Negro music of haunting beauty or to read some of the exquisite poems written by Negroes is to gain an immensely increased respect for the race. Paul Laurence Dunbar, a man of pure African blood, so impressed William Dean Howells that he wrote:

"I said that a race which had come to this effect in any member of it had attained civilization in him, and I permitted myself the imaginative prophecy that the hostility and the prejudices which had so long constrained his race were destined to vanish in the arts; that these were to be the final proof that God had made of one blood all nations of men." [13]

A similar mead of praise could be heaped with equal justice upon some of the work of later and contemporary black poets. If any one doubts, let him read James Weldon Johnson's *The Book of American Negro Poetry,* and follow the contents of the best periodicals of today.

We have regretfully to recognize that the missionary enterprise itself has not always put the emphasis on the higher sides of other racial cultures. It has sometimes been betrayed into talking overmuch of the weaknesses, misery and sin of other peoples in order that the need for missionary efforts might stand forth in clearer light. Thus we have sometimes unconsciously been developing a spirit of condescension, of patronage, even of contempt toward other peoples. The true Christian attitude is one of grateful appreciation for the admirable qualities in other peoples, of deep respect for their capa-

[13] Introduction to *Complete Poems of Paul Laurence Dunbar,* Dodd, Mead & Co.

cities; this is the spirit of most modern missionaries.

Indeed it is not too much to say that it is the missionary more than anyone else who is bringing the Western world to a new understanding of the greatness and worth of other races. Where in all the world, to take but one of hundreds of examples, can there be found more sympathetic interpreters of the Chinese and more loyal champions of their rights than Leighton Stuart, President of Yenching University, or Bishop Logan H. Roots of Hankow, or Henry T. Hodgkin of Shanghai? In them and in hosts of their comrades in the Christian movement, racial prejudice is utterly absent. It is their first-hand contact with other peoples that has resulted in the experience described by Stanley Jones, who says, "I went to India through pity, I stay through respect." Such men in their representation of the true spirit of Christ are a living rebuke to the assertive and arrogant attitudes that still so largely prevail in our land.

Here again, however, we confront a problem which the missionaries and the mission boards are helpless to meet alone. The final question is what the church at large, *my* church, is going to do to cultivate a truer appreciation of other peoples. In almost every community of America the church is set in the midst of groups of other racial inheritances and cultures than our own. Italians, Poles, Greeks, Russians, these and others are all about us. To do

something positive in bringing about a better understanding of them and a larger respect for them would be to make a contribution to the whole missionary movement which no gifts of money, however large, will ever match.

SYMPATHETIC UNDERSTANDING OF OTHER RELIGIONS

Our day calls, in the fifth place, for a sympathetic attitude toward the non-Christian religions. Time was when we thought of all other religions as foes of Christianity. They were even denounced as systems of unrelieved error and evil inspired by the devil. The early report of one of our missionary societies which speaks of "the papal and Mohammedan impostures" is fairly typical of an attitude once generally prevalent. The conclusion of the executive committee of the International Missionary Council, held in Rattvik, Sweden, in the summer of 1926, that we need a "re-examination and restatement of the relation of Christianity to other faiths," is an indication of the very different attitude held today.

A fuller understanding of other faiths makes us see that there is no such thing as a wholly "false" religion. Every faith is an expression of a quest for God. It is the revelation of human aspiration for something more satisfying than the things of sense, a yearning for fellowship with the divine. It represents the upward stretching of the soul for light and peace and truth. It is the spiritual food on which countless human beings have lived for cen-

turies. There is no religion which has not brought men some consciousness of God, some increment of life from the unseen world. Of even the most primitive religion this is true. The history of the race confirms as fact

> That in even savage bosoms
> There are longings, yearnings, strivings,
> For the good they comprehend not,
> That the feeble hands and helpless,
> Groping blindly in the darkness,
> Touch God's right hand in that darkness
> And are lifted up and strengthened.[14]

And this universal outreaching of the heart after God is, when viewed from the divine side, the record of the working of God's spirit in various ways among men. Partial truth has been discovered in all religious seeking. The Apostle Paul clearly saw that in the spiritual experience of other peoples God's hand was to be discerned: "He suffered all nations to walk in their own ways; nevertheless he hath not left himself without witness." [15] The author of the fourth Gospel, with his profound insight, thought of the light which came to full focus in Christ as sending out gleams into the hearts of all men; he described the Incarnation by declaring that "the real light, which enlightens every man, was coming then into the world." [16] Whatever is true

[14] H. W. Longfellow, "Song of Hiawatha."
[15] *Acts* 14:16-17.
[16] *John* 1:9. See Moffat's translation of the New Testament.

and beautiful and good, even if it be only fragmentary, comes from the same divine source. "Every good gift is from above and cometh down from the Father of light." [17]

SEEKING THE BEST IN OTHER FAITHS

So far, then, from being intolerant toward other religions or calling attention only to their weaknesses, we should seek for the elements of value in them and rejoice therein. We should hail them as evidence that the best aspirations of other men are one with ours, and that therefore they can, from this starting point, move forward to find in Christ the same fulness of light which he has brought to us.

A few quotations from the religious literature of other peoples will illuminate this position.

Let us recall first of all that many of the priceless words of comfort and inspiration of our own experience come to us out of Judaism.

> The Lord is my shepherd, I shall not want. He maketh me to lie down in green pastures, he leadeth me beside the still waters.

> Whither shall I go from thy spirit or whither shall I flee from thy presence?

> What doth the Lord require of thee but to do justly, to love mercy, and to talk humbly with thy God?

Does not the faith of the Hindu mystics likewise afford us points of spiritual contact which we should

[17] *James* 1:17.

eagerly welcome? Especially is this true of some of the later Hindu teachers, who came to hold a theistic view very different from that of the older pantheism. Tukaram, for example, in the seventeenth century, could think of God like this:

> Holding my hand thou leadest me,
> My comrade everywhere.
> As I go on and lean on thee,
> My burden thou dost bear.
>
> Thus thou to me new hope dost send,
> A new world bringest in;
> Now know I every man a friend,
> And all I meet my kin.
>
> So like a happy child I play,
> In thy dear world, O God,
> And everywhere—I, Tuka, say—
> Thy bliss is spread abroad.[18]

Again, can anyone think of Taoism as having no point of contact with Christianity when we find in it such a sentiment as this:

"To those who are good to me, I am good; to those who are not good to me, I am also good, and thus all get to be good. To those who are sincere to me, I am sincere; and to those who are not sincere to me, I am also sincere, and thus all get to be sincere." [19]

Who could fail to find inspiration in the Con-

[18] Translated by N. Macnicol, *Psalms of the Maratha Saints*, p. 71.

[19] Tao Teh King, 49:2.

fucian declaration, "All within the four seas are brothers." [20] Surely there is some kinship with Jesus Christ in one who could tell his followers what Gautama Buddha did:

"If a man speaks or acts with an evil thought, pain follows him, as the wheel follows the foot of the ox that draws the carriage. 'He abused me, he beat me, he defeated me'—in those who harbor such thoughts hatred will never cease. For hatred does not cease by hatred at any time; hatred ceases by love." [21]

Shall we ever again designate as "heathen" men who could, even occasionally, rise to such heights of moral and spiritual vision? Heathenism and paganism are not terms which rightly describe the life of any race or any great geographical area as a whole; they are rather descriptive of an anti-Christian attitude toward life, or of an acceptance of unchristian ideals and purposes which is to be found, in varying degrees, in west, east, north and south.

The critical struggle today is not between Christianity and other religions but between Christianity and no religion at all. The most serious contenders against Christ are not Buddhism or Confucianism but the forces of rampant materialism and utter irreligion, against which every religion is a protest. The enemies of which we need most to think are

[20] William E. Soothill, *Analects of Confucius*, 12:5, 4.

[21] Quoted from the *Dhammapada* by James Bissett Pratt in *India and its Faiths*, p. 414.

not other faiths but the spirit of non-faith, of absorption in material values and blindness to things that are unseen and eternal. In the struggle against this mighty opposition, Gautama Buddha and Confucius are friends rather than foes of Jesus.

But this by no means implies that all religions are pretty much the same. Quite the contrary. The more Hinduism and Christianity, for example, are studied comparatively, the clearer it is that there are deep and fundamental differences between them. To Christianity the ultimate meaning of the universe and of humanity is found in Christlike personality. The God with whom we have to do is one who has a moral purpose for the world, who loves us as a father, with whom we can have personal fellowship. To orthodox Hinduism the ultimate meaning of the universe is an unknowable, impersonal entity. The God with whom its followers have to do cannot be described by qualities of any kind, and union with this final reality is the loss of personal consciousness in an indefinable all. The glowing theism of Christianity and the hazy pantheism of Hinduism are poles apart. They mean entirely different outlooks upon human life and destiny.

The inherence of spiritual quality in other religions should never, therefore, obscure our conviction that they fall immeasurably below the supreme revelation given to us in Christ. Certainly the more we emphasize love as the final reality, and conceive salvation in terms of fellowship with a God of love

and through him with all his children,—as this book has tried on every page to do,—the more inescapably are we driven to belief in the uniqueness of the Christian gospel. For in Christ as nowhere else in history we behold perfect love incarnate in human life. In him, as nowhere else, love becomes the central organizing principle for all of life. Love was enjoined in Judaism, to be sure, but never became the heart and core of it; that place was occupied by the idea of the divine law. Love was enjoined by Buddhism, but not in the sense of deep reverence for the worth of human personality; rather as pity for the essential misery and unreality of mankind. In the thought of Christ, on the other hand, the very meaning of the universe is comprehended in love. And in the personality of Christ that love attains matchless manifestation among men.

This one overtowering reality Christianity has which all other religions lack, which all men need: Christ. When a critic of missions once asked Bishop McDowell whether the Orientals were not getting along all right without Christ, there came the flashing reply, "No man is getting along 'all right' without Christ." That is the insight of all who have truly known Christ. He becomes for us the revealer of the divine meaning of life. In him we see the character of God. In identifying ourselves with his spirit and his purpose of love, we find ourselves entering into fellowship with God himself. Committing ourselves in trust to him and laying hold of

the inexhaustible resources of God which he discloses to us, we find ourselves delivered from sin and moral defeat and uselessness, and saved to inner peace, strengthened character, and social usefulness. All this and more Christ does for us. To introduce other men to him in order that he may transform their personal lives and ennoble their relationships with their fellows, is the central missionary task.

And for doing this we should regard the best things in other faiths as actual helps. They afford beginnings with which to build. If other races had no consciousness whatever of God, no sense of moral duty, no conviction of human destiny, the task of the Christian missionary would be hopeless. But all religions have already made a beginning in the spiritual interpretation of life. What Paul said of Judaism—that it was a schoolmaster to bring his people to Christ—may be similarly said, in varying degrees, of other faiths. They have been preparing men's hearts to appreciate and welcome the revelation of God in Christ. Everything in them which marks a step upward toward righteousness and holiness and love, all of his followers should gratefully recognize whether or not it bears the label of his name. Indeed, may we not think of some of the sacred writings of the East as in a sense Old Testaments, paving the way for the fuller message of God to other peoples as the Hebrew scriptures did for us? Just as Christ gathered up everything that was beautiful and exalting in the heritage of the

Jews, and in his own person added to it a glory that it had never known before, so also is he able to do in the case of the Hindus, the Chinese, the Japanese, and all the other peoples of the earth.

NEW EMPHASIS ON INDIGENOUS CHURCHES

The time is ripe, in the sixth place, for an increased emphasis on the central importance of a church that shall be truly indigenous in each land. This will require also a generous recognition of the right of the Christian nationals in each country to guide and direct the Christian movement there. In several of the older fields of missionary endeavor, the church is already well rooted in the native soil and is becoming the most potent factor in the Christian movement. The danger is that we of the West will be over-timid about letting the control of it get out of our own hands, that we will treat the Chinese and the Japanese and the Indian Christians more or less as our subordinates, and thereby delay their development in initiative and resourcefulness.

Doubtless there is risk in surrendering control to more inexperienced hands. But the risk of clinging to the old arrangement is vastly greater. In those countries where national and racial self-consciousness is becoming acute, the continuing impression that the Christian church is a Western institution, organized on Western lines, tied to Western ideas and programs, would be a handicap of overwhelming proportions. More important than this, all Christian

ideals impel us to be self-effacing, to regard ourselves as servants rather than masters, to help others to self-direction and self-control. Moreover, in several lands there are today national Christian leaders who are the acknowledged equals of the missionaries from the West. To multiply the number of these leaders by more and more transferring the responsibility for policies and programs to the native churches is to do the most strategic thing of all.

The progress achieved in this direction in the last decade is remarkable. As late as 1890 the Shanghai Conference on Christian Work in China was composed entirely of missionaries; in 1922 the National Christian Conference in the same city saw more than half of the delegates Chinese, and the commission which prepared the message of the Chinese church did not include a single foreigner. The Young Men's Christian Association is turning over its property in China to the National Council of China, and the way in which money sent from the United States is to be used is to be determined in China, not in New York. In Japan a joint decision has been reached by the missionaries of the American Board (Congregational) and the Japanese churches that are the product of its work, that henceforth the distinctly evangelistic work will be carried on by the Japanese themselves, the missionaries concentrating their effort on assistance in the training of native leadership.

Caution is needed lest this broadened emphasis on

self-direction should be taken to mean that missionaries will not be required much longer. This would be a wholly unwarranted inference and a caricature of the facts. In the first place, we must remember that there are many countries where the Christian church has as yet hardly a foothold of any kind—the Moslem lands, to mention conspicuous examples—and still other areas to which no missionary has ever gone. In the second place, even in the fields where the Christian movement is fairly well established the assistance of the missionary will not be less needed; it is only a different kind of assistance that will be called for. Men and women from America will be eagerly sought who in true brotherliness will gladly become helpers and associates of national leaders, standing not above but on a level with them, or even serving under them as formerly the Christian nationals served under us.

The necessity for financial assistance will continue, indeed may always remain, if America continues to be the wealthiest nation on earth, and the Christian church in the Orient is still poor in this world's goods beyond anything we can imagine. When we recall that the per capita income of the Christians of India is less than forty dollars a year,[22] and that one communion in New York City can spend $15,000,000 on a single cathedral, how miserably small-souled we would be did we not, out of our superabundance,

[22] According to a statement by Edmund Lucas in the *Presbyterian Magazine*, October 1926.

help them carry forward our common cause.

No doubt some reader will interject that if we contribute our money we should control its expenditure. But why should our money power entail our dictation? Why should we not trust our fellow-Christians in other lands to use the given funds in whatever ways seem to them, in their more intimate knowledge of their own people, to be fraught with the largest value for the Kingdom of God?

INDIGENOUS INTERPRETATIONS OF CHRISTIANITY

Along with this emphasis on the indigenous churches must go a generous recognition of the right and the wisdom of indigenous interpretations of Christ and Christianity. We should, of course, put all our experiences of twenty centuries at the disposal of young churches of other lands. But let us not insist on their accepting at second hand our Western ecclesiastical systems or our Western interpretations of Christ. Let us rather urge them, out of their own first-hand experience of Christ, to interpret him according to their own genius, and to develop Christian institutions expressive of their own life. No doubt they will make mistakes—have we not done so? But surely we do not have so little confidence either in Christ or in them that we should be fearful to let him make his own impression. May we not indeed expect that through their experience of Christ our total Christianity will be greatly amplified? Every people has something to

contribute to our understanding of him. "The Son of Man is too great to be expressed by any one portion of humanity." [23]

A backward glance across the pages of history will reveal to us how the Christian religion has again and again received fresh enrichment by taking root in new soils and bringing forth the fruit characteristic of those soils. In the Palestinian environment early Christianity was essentially Jewish in its modes of thought and centered around the expectations of the Messiah. Under Greek influences the theological implications of Christianity were formulated, giving the new religion a wider appeal. From its contact with the Roman world arose a wonderful system of organization and discipline typical of the genius of the Empire. Spreading through northern Europe, it imbibed a new spirit from the Teutonic peoples, resulting in an emphasis on freedom and at last in the Reformation. Carried to the new continent of America, Christianity effected results that bear a distinctive American stamp, such as the experimental spirit of the frontier and the emphasis on a church free from state control. Why should we suppose that the process of enrichment through adaptation to new environments has ceased?

THE SPIRIT OF SHARING

Our new appreciation of other peoples and their contribution to the life of humanity calls further,

[23] *The Christ of the Indian Road*, p. 194.

in the seventh place, for the spirit of sharing, in place of the spirit of conquest. Not a little of the older terminology of missions emphasized the note of conquering or subduing religions and cultures other than our own. Our religion was to triumph; the religion of others was to be worsted. We drew our terminology from the battlefield. We talked of "the warfare against heathenism," "the conflict with Islam." These phrases represent a point of view that has been outgrown. In its more extreme form, this attitude underlay the Crusades, which did so much to bar the future to any Christian approach of Moslem lands. In a milder form, the same attitude has been responsible for much of the reaction against missions on the ground of their being identified with Western imperialism. When the anti-Christian movement in China was becoming acute, some of its leaders undertook to compile from missionary literature a long list of terms of warfare and conquest which they regarded as indicating an alliance between Christianity and the aggressiveness of so-called Christian nations. While it would be easy to criticize these Chinese critics for not discriminating between the message of Christ and the practice of nominally Christian nations, the important thing is to examine our own minds and hearts and see to it that our practices are never such as to lend color to their charge.

There is little danger that the missionary movement will rely today on force or governmental pres-

sure to impose Christian ideas upon other peoples. That day is past, even though traces of it remain in the one-sided treaty which still requires China to concede to foreign powers the right of missionary activity in the same breath with special economic and political privileges. The danger, more subtle, is that in our sense of racial and cultural superiority we may proceed upon the assumption that other peoples have everything to learn from us and we have nothing to learn from them.

Such an approach on our part would be self-defeating, at least in the nations where racial self-consciousness is the most characteristic aspect of a present temper. Educated Hindus, Chinese, Japanese and Moslems are not going to be receptive toward anything which they feel is handed down to them in a patronizing manner, as if to inferiors. More important is the fact that such an approach is essentially untrue to the spirit of Christ. The Christian teaching of love and brotherhood means something deeper than charity or pity, something deeper even than unselfishness; it means respect for the personalities of others, and a desire to share with them as equals the best experiences of life, and to join hand in hand with them in the common task of building God's Kingdom of love.

As Christians we should always and everywhere have boundless confidence in Christ, always have an indubitable experience of his power in our own lives, always have unshakable conviction that all men need

him and cannot find the most abundant life apart from his influence. On this point there must be no uncertainty, no equivocal position. But we are obliged to remember that we who call ourselves Christians have no monopoly of Christ's spirit and his purpose. We need to recall that Christ himself came not out of the Western civilization but out of the East, and that in some respects the peoples of the Orient probably understand him more truly than we do. Why, indeed, should we not expect that one day India or China may raise up great creative personalities who will as wonderfully enlarge our apprehension of him as did St. Francis of Assisi or John Wesley? Why should we not now be eagerly seeking to gain from the peoples of the Orient help for that deeper insight into the meaning of Christ for human life which our materialistically minded West may otherwise be destined to miss?

This is, in fact, the point of view of the most prophetic missionaries today. So Stanley Jones, in his devotion to Christ, finds himself not only giving to India but receiving from her. "I had come to India," he tells us, "with everything to teach and nothing to learn. I stay to learn as well, and I believe I am a better man for having come into contact with the gentle heart of the East." [24]

It is we at home, who have less first-hand daily contact with other peoples, who most of all need to learn how to share with them in a spirit of mutuality,

[24] *The Christ of the Indian Road,* pp. 211-212.

instead either of holding ourselves aloof from them or imposing ourselves upon them. And all about us are opportunities which will be rewarded beyond the dreams of those who have not themselves tried that experiment. Among us in America are foreign students of great ability, representatives of every land beneath the sun. Sometimes we are urged to be friends with them for the sake of what we can do for them. But fellowship with them will do as much for us as we could possibly do for them. Here also are peoples of other races and cultures who are joint heirs with us of our American past, and yet from whom, in our false pride, we tend to keep apart, often depriving ourselves of rewarding friendships. Who that has known Negroes like R. R. Morton, George E. Haynes, James Weldon Johnson, John Hope, Mordecai Johnson, Roland Hayes, will not realize that his experience has been enriched by the contact? Who that has met with Jewish social and religious workers in such a fellowship as that which prevailed at the Olivet Conference [25] in the summer of 1926, can doubt that in the sharing of life on a basis of mutual respect we are most true to the spirit of Jesus Christ and do most to make him known?

[25] Maintained, each August, at Olivet, Michigan, by the Fellowship for a Christian Social Order, 347 Madison Avenue, New York City.

THE CALL TO COOPERATION

The present hour calls not only for such changes in attitude and spirit in the church as we have been considering, but also for a change in structure and organization. More particularly, we are summoned to strenous efforts to secure a more united church. No one can study carefully the Christian movement, either in our own country or abroad, without coming to feel keenly the handicap of our existing divisions.

For one thing, our disjointed denominationalism spells needless inefficiency in the distribution of our resources, whether at home or abroad. Consider the struggling, competing churches, some of them perhaps assisted by missionary funds, in the little town that would be far better served by one. Energies which ought to go into serving the community are spent in keeping the churches themselves from dying. Resources which are sorely needed in unchurched areas are squandered in areas where they are not needed. In the large city the inefficiency may be less obvious but it is no less real. In the absence of any plan of systematic cooperation, no church has any defined area for which it is responsible, consequently no church knows which of the unchurched it is accountable for. A vast No Man's Land is left unrecognized in every city. The foreign field adds gravity to the problem. With a hundred mission boards administering separate fragments of the work in unrelated fashion in a country like India, a states-

manlike direction of resources is all but impossible. Moreover, to propagate our own divisions abroad is to handicap the indigenous churches which, even if solidly united, would still be weak in face of their many difficulties.

More serious, however, is the fact that denominationalism often results in emphasis on things which are irrelevant to the great missionary purpose of the church. Our inherited differences bear witness to certain ideas about the sacraments, the ministry, forms of government. Even if these ideas were all correct, how much have they to do with our one central missionary objective of making Christ the Lord of all human life? Granted even that the divisions were all justified in the history of the church in the West, one has to admit that they are almost meaningless to Christians in the East today. Why should we arbitrarily impose on them the results of ancient controversies about which they neither know nor find it possible to care?

Most serious of all, a divided church can never be an adequate expression of the united fellowship in Christ which the missionary movement seeks. Our lack of unity compromises the very truth of our gospel. The churches claim to possess in Christ the secret of unity that the world needs. They are trying to call classes and races and nations into a new cooperation and fellowship. But how can we expect these nations and races to believe that Christ is the key to fellowship unless the churches which proclaim

it as the truth believe it enough to practise it in their relations to one another? A divided world in desperate need of unity has a right to turn to the church for help. Will a divided church be able to save a divided world?

An unwillingness permanently to tolerate conditions which rob the missionary movement of much of its power has led to various plans for securing greater unity. The simplest is the allocation of territories to the special care of a single denomination, with the good will of all. Much duplication of activities in some territories and neglect in others has thereby been obviated, both in our own land and on foreign fields. Obviously, however, it is not enough for Christian forces simply to keep out of each other's way. Something positive is demanded, actual working together in a common task. One of the best expressions of this new policy in foreign lands has been the union college or university. It may even be said that union in higher educational work has become the established policy of most of the leading missionary societies.

There are also great movements for the extension of united endeavor and the development of the spirit of unity in the whole range of the church's life and work. India, Japan and China each has a National Christian Council which brings both the native Christians and the missionary forces of the major denominations into a central body that studies the Christian movement in the territory as a whole and

fosters a more united approach to common tasks. In our own country the very fact that this and other books will be studied by Christians of almost all communions is an illustration of the progress that has been made, through the Missionary Education Movement and the Council of Women for Home Missions, in a cooperative enterprise of missionary education.

The attainment of the unity which is indispensable to the largest advance of the Christian movement might appear on the surface to be chiefly a problem of organization and administration. But the issue is far deeper. At bottom it is a question as to how far the churches are really at one with Christ. It is when they become concerned over things to which Christ paid little or no attention—modes of government, theories of sacraments, details of doctrinal differences—that they find themselves in separate camps. When they make Christ the center—not theories about Christ, but the actual experience of Christ's power, the loyal effort to follow in his way of living—then they find themselves at one with him and with one another.

THE CENTRAL PLACE OF THE LOCAL CHURCH

The enlarged conception of the missionary movement which we have been setting forth calls for a greater emphasis on the part which the local church must play. Formerly we thought of the individual church as being the financial supporter of the mis-

sionary enterprise. That necessity remains, but much greater is the necessity for the individual church itself to be missionary in spirit and outlook. This compels us to reconsider the whole question of the success of a church. What is it that is usually considered as marking a church as successful? An increasing membership is a common standard; but which is nearer the mind of Christ on the question of war—the little body of Quakers, inconsequential in numbers, or some of our communions with millions enrolled? An impressive church edifice is another goal commonly associated with success; but how many a cathedral falls below a little chapel in the warmth of its sympathy with all classes of men.

Two major questions we may put to ourselves to test the true success of the local church.

The first is this: To what extent is this church, *my* church, functioning as a vital missionary force in its own community? If it is not genuinely missionary there, it will not be contributing much that is vital to the missionary cause anywhere else. Is it having a direct influence in improving community life? Are social conditions better because of it, politics more honest, recreation more wholesome, industry more brotherly? Is it cooperating heartily with all other churches for the attainment of these ends? Is it reaching unchurched groups, or is it satisfied to go on ministering to those already within its circle? What is it doing to win the interest of the two out of every three children and young people who are

not enrolled in any program of religious education?

And does the church of which I am a part include in its fellowship men of other races and of varying economic status, or is its membership more like that of a social club? Most of our Protestant churches draw their constituency from a single social level, they are one-class institutions. Employers and employees, the old American stock and the newer immigrant peoples, do not meet together as children of one Father. Thus the church goes on acquiescing, often unconsciously, in existing social cleavages, instead of welding all possible groups into a fellowship. Yet if a church does not itself embody brotherhood, how much influence is it likely to have in refashioning society at large into a brotherhood?

The second major question for measuring the inward success of a church is this: To what extent does the local church, my church, regard itself as part of a world community? Does it identify itself in sympathy with all nations and races, and see in them co-partners in building the Kingdom of God? Does it consciously participate in a program that is world-wide, or is it content to let its locality be the limit of its horizon?

We are not left to vague impressions in answering these questions. A definite and practical test can be applied; if the church is really conscious of belonging to a world community, it will have a comprehensive program of education as to world conditions and world needs. In the pulpit, in the church

school, in the young people's society, in adult groups, there will be a steady provision for developing a universal outlook, for cultivating an appreciation of other peoples and races, for strengthening Christian public opinion on issues of international policy, for supporting the enterprises of the church in behalf of a Christian world order.

While there are deeper contributions than money to be made by the local church to the Christian movement both at home and abroad, it is obvious that the far-reaching missionary enterprises to which the church is committed can be sustained only through the most generous financial support. So it is still true that the extent of a church's giving is pretty much of an acid test as to how much it really believes in missions. When I compare the budget for running expenses—minister's and organist's and janitor's salaries, upkeep of the edifice, heat, music—with the missionary budget of my church, does the result show that my church has caught the self-giving, outpouring spirit of the Christian gospel?

A careful study of the per capita gifts in the major denominations since the war reveals that, although the contributions for local support have greatly increased, the giving to the benevolent and missionary budget has remained stationary or made only slight advance. And when one compares the total giving for the whole Christian movement in community, nation and world with the incredibly lavish expenditure of the American people for sheer luxuries,

he feels himself called to a mood of self-examination. The Secretary of the Treasury estimated that in 1919 the people of the United States spent over two billion dollars for tobacco, a billion dollars for candy, three quarters of a billion for cosmetics and perfumery, three billions for luxurious food and delicacies, three billions for joy-riding, races, boxing and pleasure resorts, with similar other items bringing the total up to nearly twenty-two billions in one year. The total raised by the American churches of all denominations among their people that year for all purposes, at home and abroad, was about a half billion dollars.

The final and perennial need is for a deeper experience of God, revealed through Christ, on the part of the individual Christian. For in the last analysis it is our faith in the character and purpose of God—in his forth-streaming, outreaching love—that is the unshakable foundation of the whole missionary enterprise. We are missionary because we believe in a missionary God. The deeper our insight into his character, therefore, the more irrepressible is our missionary passion, the more unquenchable our energy for the missionary task, the more invincible our conviction of the inexhaustible resources on which we may draw.

READING LIST

In preparing the following list, nothing more has been attempted than to suggest from the wide range of literature on Christian missions a few books that are readily available as reference for the general reader.

The pamphlet of "Suggestions to Leaders" which has been prepared to accompany this book contains a number of additional references to books of more specialized character.

Interdenominational publishing agencies are indicated by the following symbols:

M.E.M., Missionary Education Movement, New York
C.W.H.M., Council of Women for Home Missions, New York
C.C., Central Committee on the United Study of Foreign Missions, North Cambridge, Mass.

Books marked with these symbols may be secured through denominational literature headquarters.

Books marked "out of print" are available through many libraries.

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INDEX

Abolition, 130, 140. *See also* Slavery.
Acts, Book of, as record of missionary zeal, 75
Adams, John, 114
Afghanistan, 162
Africa; desire for independence, 30; early church in, 85; Islam in, 90; Moravians in, 105; Moffat in, 155; Mohammedan, 163; Mackay in, 175; Aggrey in, 189; forced labor in, 206. *See also* Livingstone; Negro
Aggrey, Dr., 189
Alaska, 105, 117; Jackson in, 119
America, 27-44; ch. IV *passim*
American Bible Society, 112, 141
American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 161, 201, 229 141
American Sunday School Union,
American Tobacco Company, 195
American Tract Society, 141
American University (Beirut), 167
Amos, 50
Anglicans, 104
Ansgar, 89
Antioch, 77-78, 80
Archbishop's Fifth Committee, 39
Armenia, 85, 157
Asbury, Francis, 109
Asia Minor; early Christian, 83, 91; swayed by Islam, 90
Athanasius, 90
Augustine (Saint), 89-90
Azariah, Bishop, 187

Baptists, 131, 140, 151, 186
Berry, Dr., 178
Bible; translated by Ulfilas, 87-88; by Cyril and Methodius, 91; by Eliot, 110; by missionaries to Am. Indians, 121; by Carey, 152
Bliss, W. D. P., 131
Boas, Professor Franz, 215
Boniface, 89, 90
Boone, Daniel, 108, 109
Boxer Rebellion, 184
Bowring, Sir John, 212
Brahmo Somaj, 174
Brainerd, David, 110, 111
Brazil, 163
British E. India Co., 150 *seq.*, 162
Brotherhood, 205, 235, 242. *See also* Fatherhood, Fellowship
Brown, William Adams, 115
Buddhism, 174, 224-25, 226
Burleson, Bishop Hugh L., 119
Burns, Robert, 32

Cæsar, Julius, 215
Calvin, John, 99, 102
Capitalism, moral problems in, 15-16, 38-39, 197-198, 201. *See also* Economic issues, Indust'l problems
Carey, William, 42, 148, 150-54, 161, 162, 166, 168
Catholic, *see* Roman Catholic
Central America, 97, 105. *See also* Latin America
Central Conf. Am. Rabbis, 136
Chaffee, Edmund B., 120
Chandavarkar, Sir N., 180
Chang Po Ling, 188
Charlemagne, 86, 87
Cheng Ching Yi, 188, 189
Child labor; in United States, 37, 212; in Orient, 39-41
China; struggle against foreign domination, 30; industrialism in, 39, 43; child labor in, 39-41; disappearance of early church, 91; John de M. Corvino in, 93; Kublai Khan's request for teachers in, 94; Xavier in, 100, 154; Ricci in, 154; Morrison in, 154; early missions in, 154-55; present needs, 162; unoccupied fields, 163-64; native leadership, 173; Western domination of, 183-84; church in, 185-86; character of people, 188-89; opium trade in, 184, 206; attitude toward Western civilization, 200-01; anti-Christian sentiment in, 233; unequal treaties, 234; church denominations in, 239. *See also* Western civilization
China Christian Educational Association, 188
Christendom *vs.* Christianity, 197, 200 *seq.* *See also* Western civ.

Christian Endeavor Society, 142
Christian Occupation of China, The, 163
Christian, origin of name, 77-78
Christian social order, 12; as missionary goal, 23, 26; in America, 128, 205 *seq.*
Christianity; test of, 27; missionary character of, 47; spread through missionary zeal, 74; in Roman Empire, 84-85; difference between, and Western civilization, 199-200; difference between, and Christ, 202; cultural influences on, 231-32. *See also* Jesus, Missions, etc.
Christians, the early; missionary spirit of, 72; founders of universal church, 79; Gentile, 78-79; Jewish, 76, 80, 81; Pharisaism among, 83
Church, Christian; symbol of fellowship through Christ, 18-20; function of, 26; duty in race struggle, 30; attitude toward industry, 36, 38, 131; committed to missionary enterprise, 73; universal character of, 81; missionary inspiration from England, 107; rural, 114; duty in industrial problems, 131 *seq.*; contribution to foreign missions, 160; new emphasis needed for missions, 199 *seq.*; in Moslem lands, 230; test of success, 241; ch. IV *passim.* *See also* Missions
Circumcision, 77, 80-81
Clark (and Lewis), 108
Class consciousness in the church, 15-16, 242
Clovis, 86
Columba, 88-89, 90
Commission on Interrac'l Coop., 138
Committee on Cooperation in Latin America, 144
Confucianism, 223-24
Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, 100
Congregationalists, 131, 140
Constantine, 84, 85
Constantinople, 82, 92
Cook, Captain, 148, 172
Cooperation, need for, among churches, 139 *seq.*, 186, 237 *seq.*
Council of Women for Home Missions; Introduction, 123, 143, 240
Crawford, Dan, 171
Crusades, 92-94, 204, 233
Cyprian, 85, 90
Cyril, 91

Dartmouth College, 110
Darwin, Charles, 175
Denmark, 89, 91, 104, 150, 152
Denominationalism, 237-39
Dennis, Dr. James S., 180
Denny, Dr., 20
Dewey, John, 176
Dhammapada, 224
Disciples of Christ, 140, 162
Doshisha University, 185
Douglass, H. Paul, 110
Duff, Alexander, 154, 168
Dunbar, Paul L., 217
Dutch Guiana, 103

Eagan, John J., 207-08
Ebara, Hon. Soroku, 189
Economic issues, as challenge to Christianity, 36, 37, 38, 192. *See also* Industrial problems
Eddy, Sherwood, 40-41
Edinburgh Conference (1910), 168
Education; by missionaries in American West, 115-16; for Negroes, 120-21; for generally neglected groups, 122-24; in program of foreign missions, 153, 154, 156, 167-68; contribution of missions to, 168-69, 176-77; for women, 177-78
Edwards, Jonathan, 107
Egypt, 85
Eliot, John, 110, 111
Ely, Richard T., 130
Emerson, R. W., 9
England; early church in, 85, 89; after Reformation, 103; as missionary dynamic, 107, 147, 149
Esther, Book of, 53
Evangelical Alliance, 142
Ezra Apocalypse, The, 54, 57

Fatherhood of God, 11; Jesus' experience of, 59 *seq.*; church's preaching of, 205, 216, 242. *See also* Brotherhood, Fellowship
Federal Census of 1920, 37
Federal Commission on Industrial Relations, Report of (1915), 37
Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, 131-32, 134, 136, 138-39, 143, 208
Fellowship, 9-25, 34, 46, 58, 238, 242; *also* Brotherhood, Fatherhood

Fellowship for a Christian Social Order, 236
Financial aid to missions, 242-44
Fisher, Bishop, 195
Fisk University, 120
Fleming, D. J., 18, 197, 215
Foreign Missions Conf. of N. A., 43
Fourth Gospel, sp'c'l value of, 72-73
France, 83, 103
Francis of Assisi, 92, 96-97, 235
French Revolution, 16, 148
Friends, *see* Society of
Frontier, 25, 113-18; of human relationships, 192 *seq.*

Gammon Theological Seminary, 120
Ganado Mission, 121
Gandhi, Mahatma, 39, 193
Geddie, John, 172
Gentile Christians, 78, 79, 81
Germany, 85, 103, 150
Gild system, 95
Gilkey, Dr. Charles W., 31
Gladden, Washington, 130
Great Awakening, the, 107
Greek Orthodox Church, 90
Greenland, 105
Grenfell, Dr. Wilfred T., 10, 170

Hall, Gordon, 154
Hampton Institute, 120
Hanum, Halidé, 177
Harnack, Adolph, 56, 71-72, 77, 79, 84, 85
Hawaii, 117, 165
Hayashi, U., 189
Hayes, Roland, 236
Haynes, George E., 236
Haystack group, 111, 161
Hermas, *Shepherd* of, 84
Higgins, Frank, 119
Hinduism, 60, 174, 179-80, 223, 224
Home Missions Council, 143
Hope, John, 236
Howard, John, 106
Howells, W. D., 217-18
Hugo, Victor, 147
Hull House, 174
Humanitarianism, 149
Huss, John, 105

Immigrant groups, 118-19, 122
India; demanding self-government, 23, 30; race consciousness in, 31; industrialism in, 39; Christian missions in, 23, 43; Xavier in, 100; Robert de Nobili in, 100; Tranquebar mission, 104; Carey in, 150 *seq.*; education through missionaries, 168; progress of Christianity in, 172; first college for women, 177; liquor trade in, 206; mysticism in, 217; per capita income, 230; mission boards in, 237
Indians, American, 29; exploited by Spaniards, 98; ministered to by same, 98; by Moravians, 105; by Eliot, Wheelock, Mayhews, Brainerd, 110, 118; ministered to by Burleson, 119; exploited by Americans, 120; missions among Navajos, 121-22; Lee's work with, 199
Industrial problems as challenge to Christian ideal, 15-16, 36 *seq.*, 43, 192, 194, 196, 205-07; as dealt with by medieval church, 95; by modern church, 130-37; faced by Christian laymen, 207-08
Institute of Social and Religious Research, 126, 161
Institutional churches, 129
Interchurch World Movement, 163
International issues as challenge to Christian ideal, 15-16, 192, 194, 196, 198, 200-01, 212; missions' attitude toward, 33 *seq.*; effect on missions, 181-82, 183-84, 208-12. *See also* Western civilization
International Miss'n'ry C'nc'l, 220
Ireland, 88-89
Irenæus, 85
Isabella Thorburn College, 177
Isaiah, 51-53, 57, 58
Islam; a lack of universal quality in, 81; spread of, 90; Crusades against, 92; missions for, 156-57, 163; gaining in Moslem lands, 172

Jackson, Sheldon, 119
Jan Hus Neighborhood House, 123
Japan; demand of, for equality, 30; Christian missionaries in, 34; industrialism in, 39, 40, 41; child labor in, 40; U. S. discrimination against, 42-43, 211, 214; Xavier's work in, 100; Americans' work in, 158-59; for women, 177; Christianity rooted in, 185; attitude toward Western civilization, 200-01; as military power, 211; attitude

toward exclusion law, 214; courtesy of people, 216
Japan Year Book, 178
Jesuits, 98, 100
Jesus; his idea of God, 48, of missionary necessity, 47-48; universality of his teaching, 58-70; social sympathies of, 68, 205 *seq.*; perfect revelation of love, 225 *seq.*; in background of Eastern civilization, 235
Jesus, the, slave-ship, 181
Jewish Christians, 76, 80, 81
Jews, 29, 48 *seq.*, 70-71, 136, 204, 228. *See also* Judaism
John, interpreter of Jesus, 72-73; messenger to Samaritans, 76; supporter of Paul, 80
John de Monte Corvino, 93
Johnson, James Weldon, 218, 236
Johnson, Mordecai, 236
Jonah, 53-58
Jones, Stanley, 190, 203, 219, 235
Judaism, Christian inheritance from, 48-59, 222, 226, 227, 228
Judson, Adoniram, 154, 199

Kagawa, Toyohiko, 41, 178, 189, 190
Kingdom of God; Jesus' vision of, 24; as ideal for international relations, 35; in concept of Amos, 50; in teaching of Jesus, 63 *seq.*; 69, 110, 137, 141, 145-46, 160, 231, 234, 242
Kipling, Rudyard, 16, 109
Knox, John, 102
Koran, 81
Kublai Khan, 94
Kyoto, university in, 185

Labor; organized, in U. S., 36, 37, 39, 131, 135; migrant, in U. S., 118, 123; relation of to churches, 130-37, 192; conditions in Orient, 182; in Africa, 206. *See also* Industrial problems
Labor leader, quoted, 17
Labrador, 105, 170
Las Casas, 98
Latin America; attitude toward U. S., 30, 210-11; cooperation in, 144; American churches' work in, 159; characteristics of people, 217. *See also* Mexico, etc.
League of nations (any), 34
Lee, Jason, 199
Leopold of Belgium, 182
Lew, Timothy T., 188-89
Lewis (and Clark), 108
Livingstone, David, 17-18, 42, 155, 170, 181
Longfellow, H. W., 221
Lord's Prayer, universality of, 67
Louisiana Purchase, 108
Love, as revelation of God, 48; as message of Jesus, 66 *seq.*; perfected in Jesus, 225 *seq.*
Lovedale, school at, 176
Loyola, Ignatius, 99
Lull, Raymond, 93
Lutherans, 103, 104
Luther, Martin, 99
Luxury expenditure in U. S., 244

McAfee, Cleland B., 34, 59
McDowell, Bishop, 151, 226
Mackay, Alexander, 175
Malay Archipelago, 163
Marco Polo, 94
Martin, Hugh, 54
Martin of Tours, 86, 87
Martyn, Henry, 156
Martyr, Justin, 84
Mathews, Basil, 215
Mechanistic theory, 10
Meharry Medical College, 120
Methodist Episcopal Church, 131, 140
Methodius, 91
Mexicans in U. S., 29, 118-19
Mexico; early Catholic, 97; attitude toward U. S., 30, 210
Migrant workers, 118, 123
Militarism, 200, 211. *See also* War, Western civilization
Mills, Samuel J., 111-12
Missionary Education Movement; Introduction, 240
Missionary movement; as expression of belief in God's purpose, 22; task of, 24; attitude toward race, 27; church committed to, 73; responsible for making Christianity a world religion, 74; period of decline, 86 *seq.*; impulse to Protestant, 91; low ebb in Reformation, 101 *seq.*; establishes rural church, 114 *seq.*; in rural communities, 123-26; relation to humanitarianism, 149; work still to do, 162 *seq.*; appraised by Darwin, 175; by Dewey, 176; new emphases needed, 199 *seq.*; seen

as duty of united church, 237 *seq.*; financial aid to, 244-46. *See also* Unoccupied fields; *also* Separate countries
Missionary spirit, the, 34, 45, 199; subject to ebb and flow, 74-75; responsible for Christianity as world religion, 74, 78
Missions, foreign and home, *see* Missionary movement, Church
Moffat, Robert, 155
Monroe Doctrine, 210
Montana, cooperation in, 144
Monthly Labor Review, The, 39, 40
Moravians, 91, 104-05
Morehouse College, 120
Morrison, Robert, 154-55, 162
Morton, R. R., 236
Moslem, *see* Islam
Motoda, Bishop, 187

National Cath. Welfare Conf., 136
National Christian Council, of China, 185, 188, 229, 239; of India, Japan, 239
Nationals, Christian, 187-89, 228-29
Navajos, 121-22. *See also* Indians
Near East, 90, 156-57
Neesima, 185
Negro, race struggle of, 27-29, 118, 120, 137-39, 214, 217-18, 236. *See also* Africa
Nestorian church, 91
New Testament; definition of love, 11; translations of, in India, 152; taught by Gandhi, 173. *See also* Jesus, Paul
Newton, John, 133
Nicæa, Council of, 87
Nicaragua, 211
Nitobe, Dr. Inazo, 189
Non-Christian religions, 220 *seq.*
Nott, Samuel, 154
[of, 48 *seq.*
Old Testament, missionary outlook
Opium trade, 184, 206, 212
Orientals, 28-29; in U. S., 118-19, 137-38. *See also* China, Japan, etc.
Oxenham, John, 22

Pantheism, 225
Parker, Dr. Peter, 155
Parliament of Religions, 67
Paton, John G., 158, 183
Patrick, Dr. Mary Mills, 177
Patrick (Saint), 88-89
Patriotism, Christian, 31, 32. *See also* International issues
Patteson, John Coleridge, 158
Paul, Apostle, 18, 19, 20, 72, 76, 79-83, 84, 99, 101, 147, 148, 221
Paul, K. T., 189
Pennell, Theodore, 162
Persia, 163
Peru, 163
Peter the Hermit, 92
Philippines, 30, 198
Pietist movement, 104
Presbyterians, 131, 140
Prison reform, 106
Prohibition, *see* Temperance
Protestant Episcopalians, 131
Protestantism, 101-03, 104 *seq.*
Psalms, universal outlook in, 52

Race problem as challenge to Christianity, 15-16, 27 *seq.*, 42-43, 192, 196, 200-01, 205; as met by early church, 76-83; by modern church, 118, 120-23, 137-39; effect on missions, 212 *seq.*; missions' contribution to solution of, 219-20. *See also* Negroes, Indians, White race, *also* the oriental countries
Raikes, Robert, 106
Ram Mohan Roy, 174
Ramabai, Pandita, 187
Rauschenbusch, Walter, 130
Reformation, the, 93, 98 *seq.*
Reischauer, A. K., 165
Religions, non-Christian, 220 *seq.*
Revival, the, 112-13
Rome, 57, 58, 69, 83, 89, 148
Roman Catholic Church; outgrowth of ecclesiastical organization, 87; missionary expansion of, 97 *seq.*; missionary zeal during Reformation, 101; respect for alien culture, 122; as cooperator, 136; in Latin America, 159
Roots, Bishop L. H., 219
Ruggles, Samuel, 165
Rural churches, 114, 125-26
Russell, Bertrand, 21
Russia, 36, 91, 204

Salvation, nature of, 13-14
Samaritans, Judea's antagonism to, 57; Jesus' attitude toward, 70-71; disciples' attitude toward, 76
Sandburg, Carl, 202-03
Saracens, 92

Schermerhorn, 111-12
Schwartz, Christian Frederick, 104
Schweitzer, Albert, 208-09
Scotland, 88-89, 102, 154, 160, 175
Scott, Professor Anderson, 20
Serampore, settlement at, 152
Sermon on the Mount, 63, 67, 193
Shaftesbury, Lord, 149
Shanghai Conference, 229
Sharing, spirit of, 232 and ch. VI
Shelton, Dr. A. L., 162
Sin, nature of, 13-14
Singh, Sundar, 187-88
Slavery, 98, 130, 134, 140, 155, 181
Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, 104
Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 104
Society of Friends, 130, 145, 241
Society of Jesus, 99
South America; early a Catholic stronghold, 97; Moravians in, 105; untouched center of, 163, 210. *See also* Latin America
South Sea Islands, 157-58, 172, 175, 182-83
Spain, 84, 85, 90, 91, 159
Speer, Dr. Robert E., 200
Spelman Seminary, 120
Standard Oil Company, 195
Stelzle, Charles, 131
Stephen, 77
Stillman Institute, 120
Strong, Josiah, 115, 130
Students, foreign, in U. S., 195-96, 236
Stuart, Leighton, 219
Stuck, Archdeacon, 119
Sumatra, 163
Sunday schools, 106, 114-15, 124, 125, 127, 208
Sweden, 89, 91, 220
Switzerland, 102, 103
Syro-Phœnician woman, 69-70

Tagore, Rabindranath, 42, 211, 217
Taoism, 223
Temperance, 130, 142
Tertullian, 85, 90
Theism, 225
Thoburn, Bishop James M., 23
Thomas, John, 153
Tibet, 162
Tientsin, Treaty of, 184
Tierra del Fuego, 175
Tilak, N. V., 187
Tillett, Dr. Wilbur F., 139
Toynbee Hall, 174
Tranquebar, mission at, 104
Tukaram, 223
Turkey, 30, 92, 177, 204; *also* Islam
Tuskegee, 120

Uganda, 175
Ulfilas, work of, 87-88
Under-privileged groups, 118
Unions, *see* Labor
United Brethren, 140
Unity, *see* Cooperation
"Unoccupied fields," 42, 162 *seq.*

Vanderlip, Frank A., 167
Verbeck, Guido, 158

Wang, C. T., 188
Wanless, Dr. W. J., 170
War, barrier to missions, 35, 191, 208-11, 241
Washington, Booker T., 10
Welch, Bishop Herbert, 214
Weltz, Baron von, 103
Wesley, John, 105-06, 139, 235
West Indies, 97, 98, 105, 117, 118, 144, 198
Western civilization, 158, 181, 190, 193, 194 *seq.*, 200, 212, 232-35
Western Maryland Railway, 135
Western Reserve, colony in, 115, 140
Whitefield, George, 106-07
White race, 29-30, 138, 212 *seq.*
Wilberforce, William, 106, 150
Williams, John, 157
Williamstown, 111, 161
Women in Orient; in industry, 43; education of, 177-78
Women's Christian Temperance Union, 142
Wooton (Ky.), work in, 124-25

Xavier, Francis, 100, 154
Xenophon, 66

Yasui, Tetsu, 189
Yenching University, 178, 219
Y.M.C.A., 129, 142, 173, 187, 189, 229
Y.W.C.A., 129, 142, 187

Zanzibar, 175
Zinzendorf, Count, 105
Zwemer, S. M., 162, 195
Zwingli, 99

Thou must save another's soul,
If thou wouldst save Thine own,
Heaven's door is closed,
To him who comes alone.

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